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PIONEERS IN EXILE: THE CHINA INLAND MISSION AND MISSIONARY MOBILITY IN CHINA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1943-1989

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Kentucky

By,

Anthony Joseph Miller

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Karen Petrone, Professor of History

Lexington, Kentucky

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

PIONEERS IN EXILE: THE CHINA INLAND MISSION AND MISSIONARY MOBILITY IN CHINA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1943-1989

My dissertation explores how the movement of missionaries across Asia responded to the currents of nationalism, decolonization, and the Cold War producing ideas about sovereignty, race, and religious rights. More specifically, it looks at how U.S. evangelicals in the China Inland Mission, an international and interdenominational mission society, collaborated with Christians in the Atlantic and Pacific worlds. While doing so it also details the oft-neglected study of the post-China careers of former China missionaries by extensive use of oral histories. Forced to abandon its only field by the Chinese Communist Party, the mission redeployed as the Overseas Missionary Fellowship sending agents to new nations such as Japan, Indonesia, and Thailand and amongst the overseas Chinese populations scattered across Southeast Asia. The last chapter looks at the OMF's return to the People's Republic of China as tourists and expatriates as the means by which "rapprochement" took on religious meanings. Ultimately, I argue missionary mobility produced ideas about religious freedom as a human right across the international community rooted in ambivalent, racialized attitudes toward Asians.

KEYWORDS: China Inland Mission, Mobility, Human Rights, Cold War, Overseas Chinese

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April 11, 2015
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PIONEERS IN EXILE: THE CHINA INLAND MISSION AND MISSIONARY MOBILITY IN CHINA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1943-1989

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Introductory Chapter

Mobility, Rights, and Race in Protestant Missions

Background

The slide show "Preaching Tour through Ningsia" begins with two Chinese evangelists walking behind a donkey on a country road and leads the viewer into the provincial capital, around through the city's markets and temples to the government offices, and then across the province's roads, waterways, and desert plains from the vantage point of a China missionary. Audiences enjoyed a moment by moment recreation of the missionary's journey as an itinerant preacher, from purchasing materials for the journey, loading mules with supplies, procuring ferries, and visiting Chinese inns in the countryside.[1] For mission representatives, slideshows such as "Preaching Tour through Ningsia" were invaluable for showing supporters two critical dimensions of missionary work: movement and contact.

For representatives of the China Inland Mission (CIM), an international and interdenominational mission society, slideshows such as a "Preaching Tour" were becoming an indispensable tool for capturing the imagination of their U.S. audiences in the 1940s. Filled with photographs of beautiful landscapes, architecture, and stock images of various groups in Chinese society, missionary slideshows like travel narratives found in print were informative, educational, and entertaining in nature, but also laden with a spiritual and political agenda. As fascination with China grew in the U.S. in the twentieth

[1] "Preaching Tour through Ningsia," China Inland Mission, February 3, 1948, Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Billy Graham Center Archives, Lantern Slide Box 10

century these slideshows constructed for Protestant Christians in the U.S. an imagined China defined by Christianity's potential pervasiveness via the free-roaming missionary.[2]

Transportation and mobility were key themes in a "Preaching Tour" as the slideshow demonstrated the physical aspects the missionary's travel and work. In the section entitled "We Take to the Road," viewers saw photographs of different types of Chinese roads and various forms of transportation such as boats and ferries and canal bridges, giving them a picture of the terrain and difficulties encountered by missionaries traveling in China. The slideshow represented not just physical movement but the mobility of missionaries in social and cultural settings. The section of slides titled "We Meet People" included the various types of Chinese the missionary expected to encounter including: soldiers, Muslims, market traders, camel drivers, convicts, and fellow travelers. Photographs and the accompanying script showed the missionary in a number of different social settings spreading the gospel: preaching in the market, having tea in Chinese homes, and engaging fellow travelers in conversation along roadsides or on boats.[3]

There were multiple messages within the show for Protestant evangelicals in the U.S. First, the show represented CIM missionaries as accustomed to and accepted in a wide variety of social and cultural encounters. The mission was also positioned as the means by which Christianity penetrated all aspects of Chinese life. Secondly, "Preaching Tour Through Ningsia" created an impression of the missionary/Christianity as ever-

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[22] "Preaching Tour through Ningsia," China Inland Mission, February 3, 1948, Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Billy Graham Center Archives, Lantern Slide Box 10

[3] "Preaching Tour through Ningsia," China Inland Mission, February 3, 1948, Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Billy Graham Center Archives, Lantern Slide Box 10

expanding and limitless in its movement by showing the great distances CIM's missionaries traveled in the interior. Stories of travel such as this allowed audiences to visualize the missionary traveling everywhere across China's diverse landscapes: winding through busy cities, hanging around rural areas, on rivers, climbing mountains, and walking the nation's roads. Lastly, "Preaching Tour" represented the CIM's infrastructure of mission stations, hospitals, and Chinese churches associated with the mission as ubiquitous throughout the interior provinces of China.

In essence, the slideshow provided U.S. Protestants with a geographic imaginary of a China roamed freely by missionaries, and populated by Christian communities and institutions with even the most remote villages and social groups accessible through the hard work of the CIM. The slideshows, the CIM hoped, also cultivated as strong sense of obligation and prayerful reflection on China with U.S. audiences. For the society, an essential purpose of the show was facilitating a desire to have spiritual contact with the Chinese through prayer. Beholden to an evangelical belief in the efficacy of prayer as spiritual intervention in the lives of Chinese, the CIM encouraged audiences to pray for the people and images they saw and names and places they heard about when listening to the missionary speak, imparting a sense that via prayer and the missionary's movement U.S. Protestant churches were in direct contact with the images they saw.

These messages about the missionary and their mobility were not unique to "Preaching Tour," rather they were the hallmarks that defined the CIM's relationship to China and the Chinese. It was no wonder then that the CIM was jokingly referred to by some members as standing for "Constantly In Motion."[4] In the nineteenth century, while

[4] Frank Houghton, *China Calling*, (London: Camelot Press, 1936), p. 153.

most mission societies concentrated on coastal provinces, the CIM endeavored to take the gospel to every province of the Qing Empire. In fanning out throughout the nation the CIM missionaries were driven by the ideological imperative that "no one has the right to hear the Gospel twice until every one has heard it once."[5] Thus, the trajectory of the CIM missionary's pathways around China were driven less by the desire to win as many souls to Christianity as possible but more so by the idea of taking the gospel as far and wide as possible.

For the society's supporters in the U.S., the CIM missionary's mobility gave expression to a number of American ideals and desires. Firstly, complete and unhindered access to Chinese civilization expressed in foreign policies like the Open Door. Secondly, the expansive itinerations employed by the CIM missionaries to these ends—made possible by extraterritoriality rights—built the sense that missionary mobility embodied ideas about both freedom of movement and of expression, critical aspects of the concept of religious freedom in the twentieth century. And thirdly, international cooperation, in supporting the CIM, U.S. evangelicals joined together with Protestants from North America and Europe.

Founded in 1865 by a British evangelical Hudson Taylor, by the mid-twentieth century the CIM was an international mission with members from eleven different countries including the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. By the mid-twentieth century, within the U.S. the CIM enjoyed strong financial and ideological support from evangelicals across the nation and maintained offices in cities such as Philadelphia, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Studying the mobility of CIM missionaries then

[5] Frank Houghton, *China Calling*, (London: Camelot Press, 1936), p. 153.

suggests the ways in which the movement of missionaries in China produced ideas that were relayed to Protestant Christians through the international Christian community, and the concept of missionary mobility provides a transnational lens on the relations between U.S. evangelicals and the wider international community in Europe and Asia sharing an ideology of mobility and rights infused with meanings associated with the spread of American power and values.

Missionary Mobility, Mission-Centric History and the Paradigm of "Indigenization"

By focusing on mobility as an analytical framework, I contribute to the growing significance of transnational studies for Chinese and U.S. history in the twentieth century.[6] In the late 1980s, historians such as Akira Iriye stressed the need to investigate the role that international non-governmental organizations and non-state cultural figures played in diplomatic affairs in the twentieth century.[7] The field of transnational history took shape shortly thereafter and expanded upon on this inquiry to analyze a number of phenomena—for instance, transnational migratory populations and labor forces—that underscored the interconnectedness and interdependent histories of social and cultural groups across the world in the twentieth century. Historians of the U.S. such as Ian Tyrell, Kristin Hoganson, and Mary Dudziak have utilized this approach to emphasize the permeability of U.S. borders. Broadly stated, their work has demonstrated the infusion of cultural ephemera and consumer products from foreign locales within the daily lives of

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[6] *Ong, Aihwa and Donald M. Nonini. Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism.* New York: Routledge, 1996); Liu, Haiming. "Transnational Historiography: Chinese American Studies Reconsidered," *Journal of History of Ideas*, Vol. 65, No. 1. 2004. p. 135-153.; Hsu, Madeline. Dreaming of gold, Dream of Home: Transnationalism and Migration Between the United States and South China, 1882-1942. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000).

[7] Akira Iriye, "The Internationalization of History," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 94, No. 1 (Feb., 1989): 1-10.

Americans, but also the ways in which international events and groups or persons outside the U.S. exercised their influence over domestic issues and public opinion.[8]

In a similar manner, historians of China have had much success in using a transnational framework to illustrate the ways in which distinctions between "international" and "domestic" aspects of the past in China are increasingly difficult to define and at times counterproductive to historical understanding. In particular, many scholars have explored the diasporic movements of ethnic Han Chinese, paying special attention to the ways in which movement, place, ethnicity, labor, and cultural heritage factor into the construction of subjectivity.[9]

In using mobility, I intend to build upon the work of scholar Tim Cresswell. Like Cresswell, I explore how mobility created notions about rights or race by tracking how the CIM's missionaries practiced and experienced movement in nations like China that were then distributed by the society and its representatives across the U.S., Europe, and Asia.[10] These meanings produced by mobility are critical to understanding the relations between foreign missionaries, who were at the start of the twentieth century primarily white westerners, and Chinese and later other Asians, of whom were increasingly prominent members and voices within the Protestant missionary movement by the end of the twentieth century. Lastly, mobility provides the means to create a transnational

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[8] Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War, Civil rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Kristin Hoganson, *Consumer's Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008); Ian Tyrell, *Transnational Nation: United States History in Global Perspective since 1789* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

[9] William Kirby, and Mechtild Leutner, Klaus Mühlhahn, eds. *Global Conjectures: China in Transnational Perspective* (Münster: Global Distributor, 2006); *Aihwa Ong and Donald Macon Nonini, Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Xiaojian Zhao. *Remaking Chinese America: Immigration, Family, and Community, 1940-1965* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

[10] Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World,* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. 3-4.

synthesis of two veigns of scholarship, histories that are mission-centric and those that focus on indigenous Chinese Christianity, to highlight the transnational connections that colored American religion, human rights discourse, and the development of Christianity in Asia.

In the U.S., the history of foreign missions to China remained understudied by secular historians until the 1970s. Early historians of Protestant missions such as Kenneth Scott Latourette's *A History of Christian Missions in China* (1929) provided an impressive catalogue of empirical data and descriptions of missions, but exalted the missionary's selflessness, altruism, and sacrifice in the same vein as mission publications.[11] Publications by scholars such as Creighton Lacy, R. Pierce Beaver, Paul Varg, Paul Cohen, and James C. Thomson produced the first secular academic research concerning U.S. missions to China in the 1950s and 1960s.[12]

Encouragement from the well-respected John King Fairbank in his presidential address to the American Historical Society in 1969 prompted a number of scholars to explore the diplomatic and cultural impact of American missionaries on Sino-American affairs, historical subjects he believed to be understudied or "invisible" figures in the

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[11] Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: MacMillan, 1929); Dana L. Robert, "From Missions to Mission Beyond Missions: The Historiography of American Protestant Foreign Missions Since World War II," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Oct., 1994): 146.

[12] Paul A. Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese, and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952 (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952); Paul A. Varg, "Motives in Protestant Missions, 1890-1917," Church History, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Mar., 1954): 68-82.; Creighton Lacy, "The Missionary Exodus from China," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Dec., 1955): pp. 301-314.; R. Pierce Beaver, "Nationalism and Missions," *Church History,* Vol. 26, No. 1 (Mar., 1957): 22., R. Pierce Beaver, *All Loves Excelling: American Protestant Women in the World Mission* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1968, rev. ed. 1980) and *American Missions in Bicentennial Perspective* (South Pasadena, CA: American Society of Missiology, 1977).; James C. Thomson, *While China Faced West*: *American Reformers in Nationalist China, 1928-1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969): 119-121.; John King Fairbank, "Patterns Behind the Tientsin Massacre," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* Vol. 20, No. 3/4 (Dec., 1957): 480-511; Paul Cohen. *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Anti-foreignism*(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963);

historiography of foreign affairs. In addition, the events of the Vietnam War encouraged scholars to interrogate the origins of U.S. ideological perspectives on East Asia. For the next two decades, scholarship on missions analyzed missions primarily through the paradigms of "western impact-Chinese response," "modernization," and "imperialism." Within these paradigms historians explored the relationship of missions and foreign policy decisions, the work of missionaries as modernizers and social reformers erecting hospitals, schools, and rural or urban organizations, and, of course, the introduction of western religion and culture with its attendant response by Chinese society.[13]

The mission-centric approach to studying missionary activities and socio-political roles in China largely explored their significance to modernization and nationalism in China. Histories of the twentieth century in the mission-centric tradition have explored missions as a catalyst in the transitions to "modernity" and nationalism, imparting western political concepts and educational training to Chinese socio-political leaders. The earliest scholarship suggested a link between missions and the Chinese nationalism of the early twentieth century. Fairbank, for instance, insisted that missions played direct and indirect roles in the "long revolution," although he believed the societal forces missions had helped to set in motion eventually led to their expulsion from China.[14] Additionally, William Hutchison and Lawrence Kessler suggest that social service and institution building for the purpose of secular activities such as education, medicine, and relief

[13] John King Fairbank, "Assignment for the '70s," *American Historical Review,* Vol. 74, No. 3 (Feb., 1969): 877-879.
[14] John King Fairbank, "Introduction," from John King Fairbank, eds. *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974): 9-11.

efforts were the primary areas of emphasis for missions in the twentieth century, especially among institutions such as the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA).[15]

Throughout the historiography, historians have shown a particular fascination with the exemplars of the Social Gospel wing of Protestantism in China such as the YMCA and YWCA and mission professionals such as John Mott, Frank Rawlinson, and John Leighton Stuart.[16] For example, *Social Reformers in Urban China: The Chinese Y.M.C.A., 1895-1926* by Shirley Stone Garrett used the YMCA archives to establish a narrative of the organization's efforts to educate and reform through the introduction of ideas specific to the western sciences and associations for local youth and labor.[17] Other texts, such as Mary Brown Bullock's *An American Transplant: The Rockefeller Foundation and the Peking Union Medical College* and Yung-chen Chiang's *Social Engineering and the Social Sciences in China, 1919-1949* have explored the export of American educational, sociological, and scientific theories through institutions founded by the Rockefeller Foundation.[18]

Thus, historians have long considered the ways in which the missionary advanced phenomenon such as nationalism, modernity, and social reform. I argue that this is

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[15] William Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Mission* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Lawrence D. Kessler, *The Jiangyin Mission Station: An American Missionary Community in China, 1895-1951* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

[16] Shirley S. Garrett, Social Reformers in Urban China: The Chinese Y.M.C.A., 1895-1926 (Harvard University Press, 1970); Jun Xing. *Baptized in the Fire of Revolution: The American Social Gospel and the YMCA in China, 1919-1937* (Lehigh University Press, 1996); Yu-Ming Shaw. *An American Missionary in China: John Leighton Stuart and Chinese American Relations* (Cambrdige, MA:Harvard University Press, 1992); John Rawlinson. *The Recorder and China's Revolution: A Topical Biography of Frank Rawlinson, 1871-1937* (Cross Cultural Publications, 1990).

[17] Shirley S. Garrett, *Social Reformers in Urban China: The Chinese Y.M.C.A. 1895-1926* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).

[18] Mary Brown Bullock. *An American Transplant: The Rockefeller Foundation and the Peking Union Medical College* (University of California Press, 1980).; Yung-chen Chiang. *Social Engineering and the Social Sciences in China, 1919-1949* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

because though the meanings of the missionary's mobility have been multiple and ever-evolving throughout world history, inherently the missionary's movement is ideologically understood by its proponents as a vessel of *progress,* however that is defined. Roughly, the missionary's mobility has served as a rough barometer for the spread of global Christianity, and, to many Protestant Christians, it has also been seen as the dissemination of western values and modernity through the diffusion of lifestyles, technology, and knowledge to non-western civilizations.[19]

Studying missionary mobility adds to this scholarship by considering the ways in the movements of missionaries symbolized to Protestant Christians the advance, and retreat, of such forces as modernity, against the back drop of the Cold War and decolonization. The majority of mission-centric histories ends in 1949 and fails to account for how such programs and resources were redirected in the 1950s and beyond. Missionary mobility can be a particularly important revealing lens on how the triumph of communism in China and subsequent expulsion of the Protestant missionary movement haunted the psyche of Protestant Christians in the Cold War. Philip King's *The Lost History of Christianity: The Thousand-Year Golden Age of the Church in the Middle East, Africa and Asia—and How it Died* states that in the popular consciousness Christianity's global spread has seemed inevitable. He suggests…

> Usually, this history is presented as a tale of steady expansion, from the Middle East to Europe and ultimately onto the global stage. Christianity appears to have spread freely and inexorably, so that we rarely think of major reverses or setbacks. When we do hear of disasters or persecutions, they are usually

[19] Ryan Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity," *History and Theory*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (2002): p. 301-325.

> mentioned as the prelude to still greater advances, an opportunity for heroic resistance to oppression.[20]

By fanning out and pioneering new fields for Christianity, the missionary's mobility mapped the expansion of Christianity and progress and produced this sense that it was inevitable. Conversely, the missionary exodus from China during the Korean War created pervasive doubts that Christianity's expansion was inevitable and western values, lifestyles and rights universal. Worse, regimes such as the Chinese Communist Party asserted control over the movements of missionaries within their borders, challenging the freedom of the missionary's mobility and all that it signified.

This dissertation details the oft-neglected study of the post-China careers of former China missionaries and the ideological meanings produced by their redeployment following the Korean War. Forced to abandon its only field by the Chinese Communist Party, the mission redeployed as the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF) sending agents to new nations such as Japan, Indonesia, and Thailand and amongst the overseas Chinese populations scattered across Southeast Asia. Using mobility as the primary analytical lens this dissertation explores how the movement of missionaries across China and later East and South East Asia responded to the currents of nationalism, communism, decolonization, and the Cold War. More specifically, it looks at how U.S. evangelicals in the CIM collaborated with Christians in the Atlantic and Pacific worlds to sustain their sense that Christianity was on the right side of history, a universal religion defined by universal rights such as freedom of movement and expression, amidst the pervading spiritual doubts produced by ideological rivals such as communism after 1945.

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[20]Philip King *The Lost History of Christianity: The Thousand-Year Golden Age of the Church in the Middle East, Africa and Asia—and How it Died* (New York: Harper Collins, 2008): p. 2.

A second major thematic concentration for many U.S. historians has been to question the nature of the interaction and cross-cultural contact between missions and their host society. At the heart of this discussion was the question of whether or not U.S. missionaries played a historical role as "benevolent modernizers" or "cultural imperialists." While several scholars followed John King Fairbank's lead in emphasizing the productive role of missions in founding modern social institutions and disseminating scientific discourses, the dominant trend has been to examine the role of missionaries as advancing imperialist interests of the U.S. One of the earliest volumes of collected scholarship, *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, contained an article by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. adopted "cultural imperialism" as a conceptual tool for understanding the missionary as the vanguard of the American psychological assault on Chinese habits of speech, dress, sexual identity, social relations, and nearly every other facet of life.[21] The paradigm of cultural imperialism remains integral to the historiography of missions although its efficacy has been greatly questioned.[22]

In particular, attention to gender analysis has greatly refined the framework of "cultural imperialism." In 1984, Jane Hunter's *Gospel of Gentility* balanced the imperialist aspirations of women missionary's ideology against their actual lived social relations with their Chinese neighbors. Hunter argues women missionaries experienced

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[21] Arthur Schlesinger, "The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism," from John King Fairbank, eds. *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974): 367-370.

[22] Schlesinger's specific articulation of the concept has largely been unused by U.S. scholars, but "cultural imperialism" has proven a valuable analytical tool. Scholars of foreign affairs in the 1970s and 1980s largely assumed that an imperialist ideology dominated the American mission movement. Their method was to compile evidence of the cultural imperialist ideology from reading mission correspondence, publications such as the *Chinese Recorder,* slogans of The Student Volunteer Movement, and American Protestant theology in the early twentieth century. In general, Schlesinger was directing mission historiography along the lines of the critical perspectives advanced by Next Left historians in the late 1960s and 1970s that exposed elements thought to be traditional to American idealism such as Protestantism to an unprecedented level of criticism and interrogation.

"imperial gratifications" from being empowered socially and professionally from the travel, employment as business managers and owners, and social roles in China that were unlikely to be experienced by American women in the United States. These new possibilities found within missions produced "extraordinary gratification" that were founded "on national, racial, and class inequalities and a radical misinterpretation of Chinese culture."[23] Kathleen Lodwick's *Educating the Women of Hainan: The Career of Margaret Moninger in China, 1915-1942* echoes Hunter's arguments about the imperial gratifications and empowerment of missionary work for women, but also stresses the disorienting impact of culture shock and frustration of their newfound agency by the paternalist attitudes of male Chinese.[24] Despite these valuable studies, criticism about the use of cultural imperialism as an interpretive framework has remained steady, scholars often questioning the issue of whether or not the framework inherently reduces persons subject to imperialism or colonization to a passive and powerless role in history and imparts a sense of a linear flow of cultural phenomenon from one nation to another.[25] Coupled with these critiques, in the mid-1980s and more dramatically in the 1990s many China historians in the U.S. embraced broader historiographical trends that sought to move beyond the emphasis on the imposition of the "West" upon Chinese history. Additionally, scholars from various disciplines such as sociology and cultural anthropology, journalists and political scientists in this period called attention to the continuation of Christianity as socio-religious force in the latter half of the twentieth

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[23] Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility* :216.
[24] Kathleen L. Lodwick, *Educating the Women of Hainan: The Career of Margaret Moninger in China, 1915-1942* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1995): 212-217.
[25] For a survey of this general debate see Jessica Geinow-Hecht, "Cultural Transfer," from Michael J. Hogan and Thomas J. Patterson, eds. *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

century, making Christianity seem less and less like the imposition of a religious system by a group of foreign cultures upon the Chinese.[26]

Altogether these trends produced a recognition among scholars that the use of cultural imperialism could obfuscate the shared socio-religious space of the Sino-foreign Christian community in the history of China by exaggerating the extent to which Christianity was the outcome of the actions of one social group (foreign missionaries) resulting in creation of another (Chinese Christians). In response to these issues, many scholars since the late 1980s have invoked the more "neutral" terms of "cultural transfer" or "cultural transmission" to denote a greater sense of agency by Chinese converts.[27] Conversely, these terms have rarely been used in the mission-centric history and further revisions and qualifications to the concept of "cultural imperialism" have been made.[28] It should also be noted that terms such as "cultural exchange" have also been well criticized for lacking analytical heft.[29] For example, Carol Chin's "Beneficent Imperialist:

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[26] Paul A. Cohen. *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Past in* China (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

[27] Carol Chin, "Beneficent Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Diplomatic History,* Vol. 27, No. 3 (June, 2003): 328.

[28] Jessica Geinow-Hecht, "Cultural Transfer," from Michael J. Hogan and Thomas J. Patterson, eds. *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[29] For an example, consult Dan Cui's *The Cultural Contribution of British Protestant Missionaries and British-American Cooperation to China's National Development during the 1920's*. She describes missionaries as the principal cultural agents between China and Great Britain, and examines their efforts to establish a modern educational system committed to the ideals of individualism, democracy, and international law. She submits to her readers that "mission cultural work was a cross-fertilization that few Chinese people understand," blaming the imperialist critique of missions for obscuring the ways in which missions contributed positively to the nationalist awakening and increased the dynamism of Chinese culture. But her work seems dated, the sterile use of missions as a vehicle for the transport of ideas from one nation to another as "cultural work" lacks the precision and clarity of works that emphasize the exchange of symbols, discursive tools such as narrative devices, or conceptual modes. The book also illustrates how the emphasis on reciprocity or dialectical nature of cross-cultural engagement can obscure the tensions produced by the process. Rather, one comes away with only a catalogue of how missions came into contact with a Chinese "idea" about education or British missionaries brought with them notions such as "democracy" with no sense as to how these thoughts were translated, refashioned, or altered the subjectivity of those who came into contact with them. My intention is not to suggest that imperialism is the only way to

American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," argues that American missionaries practiced "beneficent imperialism," a specific form of cultural imperialism produced from the tension in the American ideological aspiration to transform Chinese society from within an understanding of the self rooted in anti-imperialist discourse about the American past.[30] Thus, there remains a tendency to divide the historical experiences of Chinese and foreign Christians into dichotomous categories.

I argue that this attention to the missionary and their relations with foreign societies and peoples is a product of the inherent tension embedded within the missionary's mobility. The missionary's movement across borders is inseparable from the issues of imperialism, racialized attitudes, and paternalism because the movement of the missionary is also inherently rooted in ideas of *difference*—cultural, racial, spiritual, material, etc. It is the idea of *difference*—that the targeted groups and places are inferior in some way to the missionary who is a vessel of *progress*—that propels the missionary from one place of the world to another. And ideas of difference are inherently linked to power and inequality. In theory, then, *mobility* best reveals the meanings of the missionary's project since it is the *movement* from one place to another which expresses ideas of attachment between places while also creating/reifying lines demarcating "superior" and "inferior" places and peoples. The missionary's movement then is full of

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analyze power relationships in these sorts of contacts, but rather to suggest how in its absence historical texts can lose their critical analytical edge. Dan Cui, *The Cultural Contribution of British Protestant Missionaries and British-American Cooperation to China's National Development During the 1920's* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998):350.

[30] In sum, Chin argues that the American Revolution imparted an anti-imperialist element to American identities that made future expansionary projects by U.S. agents of economic, political, and religious institutions fraught with ambivalence and contradictions. Notions of racial, cultural, and national superiority were tempered by their commitment to democratic ideals. Carol Chin, "Beneficent Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Diplomatic History,* Vol. 27, No. 3 (June, 2003): 330-331.

signifiers about *progress* and *difference* and its representations loaded with messages about the meaning of the missionary's mobility.

It is my contention that as missionaries moved about nations like China their experiences produced/reinforced a host of stereotypes about first the Chinese, and, then, later in the 1950s, after the mission's redeployment, Asians in general. Historian Eric Reinders describes in *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion* how missionaries in China experienced their foreignness and produced racist ideas about the Chinese as heathens, effeminate, duplicitous, backwards, and spiritually oppressed.[31] I demonstrate that one primary way that this sense of foreignness from Chinese was experienced came from movement, and the mobility of missionaries came to be seen by Protestant evangelicals as free, civilized, and dynamic because Chinese as "the Other" were associated with stagnation, backwardness, or spiritual bondage.

However, when considering the history of the CIM it is interesting to note just how much mobility was intended to demonstrate identification with Chinese and other Asian groups. The society's founder, British missionary J. Hudson Taylor, had famously adopted the Qing queue, dress, cultural customs, and language in the nineteenth century as a means to more effectively witness to Chinese in the interior. This desire to live a "real Chinese life" in part informed the society's calling to the interior and attempts to belong with Chinese communities, as the mission prided itself at being the pioneering force taking Christianity far beyond the safety of the missionary compound's walls in the coastal cities. In the twentieth century, "being Chinese" remained essential to the CIM's

[31] Eric Reinders, "Preface," from *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004): p. xiii-xvi.

ethos of missionary work, and moving as Chinese critical to the missionary's expression of their identification with the Chinese and deeply felt spiritual calling.

This attention to missionary mobility can also contribute to current scholarship on the relationship of Protestant missions to American foreign policy. Many other scholars have focused on missions as an external but influential group in the foreign policymaking of the U.S. Both James Reed and Michael Hunt have made important contributions to explaining the role of missions in disseminating representations of the Chinese and ideas about a mythic relationship between the U.S. and China. James Reed's *The Missionary Mind and American East Asia Policy, 1911-1915* explores the links between the conceptual imagining of a "Christian China" to the policies of the Wilson Administration. Reed argues that during the Wilson presidency a collective mentality inspired by foreign missions created an entrenched emotional attachment to East Asia through the propagation of grandly imaginative "social myths" infused with expectations for China's future greatly out of proportion to the actual influence exerted by the United States and Christians.[32]

Michael Hunt's *The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914* investigates a loose coalition of missionaries, commercial interests, and American diplomats devoted "to penetrating China and propagating at home a paternalistic vision of defending and reforming China."[33] Increasingly, the U.S. government accepted the Open Door ideology fostered by this group's mythic notions of a "special relationship," which eventually resulted in the commitment of substantial American military assets and economic aid in the 1930s and 1940s to a vision for China's

[32] Reed. *The Missionary Mind and American East Asia Policy, 1911-1915*: ix, 10-14.
[33] Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship:* xi.

future that was in reality far from suitable to that nation's socio-political needs. [34] Again, little has been said on the resiliency of this mythic relationship in the 1950s and 1960s. This dissertation will examine how evangelicals in the U.S. maintained notions of a "special relationship" by redirecting the flow of Protestant missions toward ethnic Han Chinese outside the PRC in nations like Thailand and the Philippines.

The few scholars who have studied the role of missionaries upon returning to the United States amidst the events of the early Cold War have focused rather narrowly on the political lobbying of ex-missionaries. Nancy Benrkopf Tucker's *Patterns in the Dust: Chinese-American Relations and the Recognition Controversy, 1949-1950* suggests that despite heavy lobbying from missionaries and U.S. commercial interests in China, the Truman administration took the realist approach toward recognition and avoided an ideological stance toward the PRC regime.[35] Philip Wickeri's *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front* examines the divisions with the mission movement in the U.S. concerning recognition in the 1950s, and argues that there existed at least two discernable perspectives that dominated the discussion. The first was a conservative element stressed a fundamental opposition between Christianity and communism, and denigrated the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM), a movement of Chinese Christians professing loyalty to the Chinese Communist Party and vociferous in its criticisms of the foreign missionary. The second group Wickeri defines as "liberal," being more open to discussing the question of diplomatic recognition, but also critical of the Chinese Communist Party's policies and

[34] Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship:*301-304.
[35] Nancy Benrkopf Tucker, *Patterns in the Dust: Chinese-American Relations and the Recognition Controversy, 1949-1950* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1983).

practices toward religious groups.[36]According to Wickeri, numerous missionaries penned firsthand accounts of their experiences in China, which served as a means to advance their political agenda and criticize the Chinese Communist Party and the state policies toward religion in China. Both liberals and conservative Protestant voices, however, shared an ideological stance "always situating events in China in terms of a struggle between Communism and Christianity" and evaluating church-state relations from a thoroughly western perspective.[37]

Despite being an international and interdenominational mission, throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the CIM (later known as the OMF) was squarely within the fundamentalist-evangelical wing of Protestantism. The mission espoused a number of fundamentalist-evangelical beliefs such as the inerrancy of the bible, and within the world of missions preserved a strict emphasis on evangelism, not the propagation of the Social Gospel or humanitarianism. During the 1950s and 1960s, the society joined evangelical Cold Warriors in the U.S. in condemning the Three Self Patriotic Movement and liberal-modernist Protestants, the latter for "compromising" with communism. Still despite their theological and political differences, as Miwa Hirono has shown, the CIM shared with liberal-modernist Protestant missions a core belief that the missionary spread a superior civilization ideology to the Chinese that would make improve their lives and the world.[38] However, I argue that one of the essential differences between evangelicals and liberal-modernists was the ethos of mobility at the core of the evangelical's faith and lifestyle.

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[36] Philip L. Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three-Self Movement, and China's United Front* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1988): 3-4, 8-9.
[37] Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground*: 10.
[38] Miwa Hirono, *Civilizing Missions: International Religious Agencies in China* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008): p. 81.

Recently some scholars have begun to describe the relocation of secular non-governmental organizational resources, personnel, and institutional capital following the severance of official ties between the U.S. and the PRC. For instance, Grace Ai-Ling Chou's "Cultural Education as Containment of Communism: The Ambivalent Position of American NGOs in the 1950s," suggests the redeployment of educational resources and financial aid by U.S. NGOs such as the Ford Foundation and Yale-China Association to areas surrounding the PRC borders, or within them in the case of Hong Kong, in the 1950s. Chou argues that U.S. NGOs supported the construction of new educational institutions attending serving Chinese communities and fostering anti-communist ideology. Ironically, these organizations did so largely through promoting the cultural preservation of Confucian ideals and values, not through their previous commitment to promoting "western codes" to modernity. [39]

Scholarship such as Angela Lahr's *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares: the Cold War Origins of Political Evangelism* and William Inboden's *Religion and American Foreign Policy* have discussed the connections among Protestant missions, religion, diplomacy, and the early Cold War culture of the United States. William Inboden's *Religion and American Foreign Policy* shows that while Washington was most concerned with the European Cold War front, American Christians were fixated on the fate of the civil war going on in China. During the war, Inboden states that evangelicals and fundamentalists led the way in lobbying for U.S. aid to the KMT through letters to congressional leaders based "on the need to keep China open to

[39] Grace Ai-Ling Chou, "Cultural Education as Containment of Communism: The Ambivalent Position of American NGOs in Hong Kong in the 1950s," *Journal of Cold War Studies,* Vol. 12, No. 2, (Spring 2010): 3-28.

missionary work."[40] Once the Chinese Civil War was over, the issue of recognition remained divisive within the Protestant community for over a decade. Missionary experiences with communists in China were fashioned into valuable rhetorical firepower for the competing mainline, fundamentalist-evangelical, and Christian realist camps to use in arguing both for and against recognition of the PRC and bitter divisions within the Protestant subculture made policy decisions difficult for the U.S. government.[41]

Within the context of the early Cold War, religion was a weapon to be used against communism and the cultural animosity between evangelicals and mainstream culture softened. Lahr asserts that "the Cold War made it possible for conservative Protestants to form a new relationship with the larger American culture by embracing nationalism."[42] Lahr argues that former missionaries returned to the U.S. as Cold War experts on communism, and used their new status to promote the Committee for One Million Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations and to lobby Congressional support for the Republic of China on Taiwan. The American public, according to Lahr, viewed missionaries as "unofficial diplomatic envoys" and "indirect spokespersons" for American values, and "conservative evangelical missionaries shared their methods and much of their message with American government propagandists."[43]

Therefore, while Lahr focuses on Protestant missionaries in facilitating the Cold War ideology of containment, Inboden exposes the fragmentation within American Protestantism and diversity of perspectives. And while not concerned solely with

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[40] William Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 170.
[41] Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy*: 175-181.
[42] Angela M. Lahr, *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares: the Cold War Origins of Political Evangelism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007): 12.
[43] Lahr, *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares* :76.

missionaries, Christina Klein's *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961,* suggests the role of missionaries in promoting of the twin Cold War ideologies of containment and integration, the first concept referring to bulwarks created to block the expansion of communism and the second embodying the idea of moving foreign countries into closer political, economic, and cultural ties to the U.S.[44]

This dissertation adds to the work done by Lahr, Klein, Chou, and Inboden by tracing out the redeployment of missionaries to engage in spiritual warfare against communism along the periphery of the PRC. I examine how newly relocated missionaries contained the spread of Chinese communist ideology by taking the gospel and anti-communism to ethnic Han Chinese traveling and working throughout South and East Asia. Simultaneously, the CIM's redeployment suggests how new transnational ties forged spiritual integration with Asian evangelicals in areas such as Japan, Singapore, and Hong Kong. Lastly, by looking at the return of former China missionaries to the PRC in the 1970s and 1980s the dissertation analyzes how diplomatic concepts such as rapprochement were given spiritual connotations by travelers, expatriates, and Chinese churches and Christians.

Studying the CIM also complicates assumptions about how the missionary symbolized the extension of American values and power. Sarah Ruble's *The Gospel of Freedom and Power: Protestant Missionaries in American Culture after World War II* explores American attitudes toward power and foreign relations after 1945 embedded within debates concerning the role of missionaries in world affairs. In her work, Ruble

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[44] Klein explains that "integration" was a foreign policy ideal of uniting with nation's around the world to explore mutual interests as an inclusive community of nations. Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).

argues that the missionary embodied America's "Wilsonian paradox," desires to both foster freedom and self-determination but also to retain a privileged position for deciding how both should be used by foreign societies.[45] Within the CIM missionaries from different nationalities and races perpetuated a sense of unity in purpose and universality to the ideals embodied by this mobility. In this respect, I argue that evangelicals understood many "American" notions like the mythos of the pioneer or the Cold War ideology of containment to be ideals shared with the international community.

Through mobility the dissertation will also confront and integrate the evolving scholarship using the paradigm of "indigenization" to explore Chinese Christianity. Beginning in the 1980s a small group of Chinese scholars began to cut through mission-centered approaches employed by western scholars and the Marxist-Leninist framework that dominated the conversation for Chinese historians for thirty years by searching for the development of an "indigenous" Protestant Christianity in China. For this cohort, historicizing the events, figures, and movements of Chinese Christians was a part of an emotional and intellectual "search for identity." Many of these authors were Christians themselves, and their scholarship critiqued the historical narratives produced by both mission-centric and Marxist-Leninist traditions for reducing Chinese Christians to a marginal and problematic place in Chinese history. Following the political and social reform programs adopted by the PRC leadership in the late 1970s, Chinese Christian

[45] Sarah Ruble, *The Gospel of Freedom and Power: Protestant Missionaries in American Culture after World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012)

scholars explored the roots of "indigenous" leadership, theology, church organizations, and the resiliency of the Chinese Christian Church in the twentieth century.[46]

This literature was facilitated by new opportunities to study abroad for young scholars and junior professors; the exchange of ideas, research, and methodologies with historians from various nations produced an international network of scholarship concerned with the growth of Christianity in East Asia.[47] This work in conjunction with the recognition that Christianity has most of its current disciples in the non-western world has de-centered Protestantism as a western religion and challenged scholarship in the U.S. to re-evaluate previously held notions about the church-state relationship in the People's Republic of China.[48] Further, many U.S. historians began to adhere to Paul Cohen's call for exploring aspects of Chinese history not refracted through the western-centric paradigms of "impact-response, modernization, and imperialism."[49]By the mid-1990s, engagement with Chinese scholars and the increased availability of historical texts produced by mainland Chinese and Taiwanese scholars in English dramatically broadened the source material and historiographical literature available on missions. This literature primarily restored a place in the Chinese past for Chinese Christians.[50]

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[46] Philip Yuen-Sang Leung, "Mission History versus Church History: The Case of China Historiography," from Shenk, eds. *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002): 65-67.

[47] Philip Yuen-Sang Leung, "Mission History versus Church History: The Case of China Historiography," from Shenk, Wilbert R., eds. *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002): 64.

[48] Steve Brouwer, Paul Gifford, and Susan D. Rose, "Introduction: Global Christian Fundamentalism," from Steve Brouwer, Paul Gifford, and Susan D. Rose, eds. *Exporting the American Gospel: Global Christian Fundamentalism* (London: 1996).

[49] Paul A. Cohen. *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Past in* China (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984): 3.

[50] Philip Yuen-Sang Leung, "Mission History versus Church History: The Case of China Historiography," from Shenk, Wilbert R., eds. *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002):71-74.

Since that time Chinese scholars and their counterparts in the U.S. have employed a range of interpretive frameworks for analyzing Christianity in China, but most research still devotes itself to the topic of an "indigenous" Chinese Christianity.[51] In a manner similar to the development of women's history in the United States restoring women to the historical record, scholars such as Daniel Bays began with contributions to this impetus in Chinese history by re-examining the sources of U.S. missions to complete biographical sketches of notable Chinese evangelists and pastoral leaders with his article "Christian Revivalism in China, 1900-1937," for the text *Modern Christian Revivals*.[52] Other scholars focused on highlighting periods in which Chinese Christians increased their control and leadership within foreign dominated Christian churches and communities. For instance, Timothy Brook's "Toward Independence: Christianity in China Under the Japanese Occupation, 1937-1945" demonstrates that the Japanese occupation forced political leadership to fall into the hands of Chinese Christians, along with a level of control over financing, evangelism, and community organization not possible before this era. These experiences provided the experience necessary for Chinese Christians to adapt to the church-state relationship formed under the Chinese Communist Party regime following the permanent removal of foreign missions.[53] Whereas previously scholarship heavily influenced by theories of cultural imperialism tended to reduce Chinese converts to Christianity to a secondary, or often invisible, role in their

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[51] Philip Yuen-Sang Leung, "Mission History versus Church History: The Case of China Historiography," from Shenk, Wilbert R., eds. *Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2002): 65-67.

[52] Daniel Bays, "Christian Revivalism in China, 1900-1937," from R. Balmer and E. Blumhofer, eds. *Modern Christian Revivals (*Urbana, Ill., 1993): 163.

[53] Timothy Brook, "Toward Independence: Christianity in China Under the Japanese Occupation, 1937-1945," from Daniel Bays, eds. *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996): 336-338.

communities or impart the sense that Chinese Christianity represented merely an extension of the "west" into Chinese society, these portraits of prominent Chinese Christians contradicted these assumptions and redressed the over-emphasis on the missionary in the history of Christianity in China. The earliest works staked out a role for Chinese Christians as church leaders, theologians, and lay leaders and also repudiated the notion of an "irreducible" divide between western religious systems and the Chinese people, instead displaying the ways in which Protestantism proved a meaningful religious identity and belief system with the potential for social and political activism.[54]

Overtime historians have probed much deeper into the question of what characterizes an "indigenous" Chinese Christianity, employing various forms of cultural theory and linguistics to address issues of authenticity, agency, and the power dynamics inherent within cultural transfer, and to produce a sophisticated historiography on the Chinese Protestant church. Critical for scholars interested in these queries is Ryan Dunch's *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857-1927,* which investigates the indigenous church as an vibrant social institution essential to the formation of a nationalist ideology in Fuzhou province. Dunch illustrates the depth to which Chinese Protestants were active in social and political reform in the Fuzhou region as "patriotic and progressive" leaders, who despite their small numbers were disproportionately powerful in urban sectors, professional circles, and the provincial government. His analysis shows how U.S. missionaries played an important role by importing new concepts and symbols integral to a modern nationalist consciousness, such

[54] John King Fairbank, eds. *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974); Daniel Bays, ed. *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press,1996); Patricia Neils, eds. *United States Attitudes and Policies Toward China: The Impact of American Missionaries* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc. 1990).

as patriotic hymns, ceremonies, flags, and moral educational narratives found in the Bible, as well as associational and organizational forms central to the sort of "public sphere" or "civil society" many theorists have identified as essential in the construction of the modern-nation state. But ultimately, according to Dunch, missionaries were less and less integral to the Chinese Christian community once these nationalist tools and discourse were translated into the Chinese vernacular. [55]

One of the most important trends in the historiography has been to establish the extent to which Chinese Christians enjoyed intellectual autonomy within the joint Sino-Foreign Protestant institutions and social. The theme of indigenization has challenged previously held assumptions about the incompatibility of Christianity and the Chinese intellectual heritage. Sumkio Yamato's *History of Protestantism in China: the Indigenization of Christianity* is a richly detailed and expansive narrative linking twentieth century campaigns by Chinese Christians to gain control over the direction and philosophy of Christian churches in China to an attempt to eradicate the tendency toward fragmentation and infighting inspired by denominationalism or theological differences characteristic of Christianity in the West. Establishing Chinese Christian governance and independence, according to Yamato, had the explicit goal of unification of all Chinese churches, a project that was frustrated by theological and nationalist divisions with the foreign mission community. Coalition and interchurch organizations such as the NCC or CCC were not only formed in order to further social reform and modernization projects, as scholars have long suggested, but were a nationalist movement to overcome the

[55] Dunch is influenced considerably by the discussions on nationalist movements and modernity found in John F. *Awakening China: Politics, Culture, and Class in the Nationalist Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

harmful western ascription to denominationalism.[56] The movement was in part inspired by increased contact and engagement with the international Christian community outside of China at Christian conferences, but also the idea of "unification" or "supra-denominational Christianity" was a sign of increasing Chinese Christian intellectual autonomy. Although the movement sought to first unify churches within the nation, its overarching vision valued the unification of all Christians.[57] Especially in the 1930s and 1940s, Chinese Christians expressed these ideas in a modern Chinese phrasing and verbiage, instead of western rooted concepts, and further rejected historically western theological concepts such as miracles, sin and salvation, or the redemption of Christ's martyrdom.[58]

A number of excellent studies of indigenous Christianity in China in the last several years have elaborated on such topics as church-state relations and Chinese Christian theology. For example, Lian Xi's *Redeemed by Fire: Rise of Popular Christianity* charts the development of Christianity from its foreign identity and association with the missionary to its emergence as an indigenous, popular faith that reflects the aspirations of the masses in China. Additionally, *The Religious Question in Modern China* by Vincent Goossaert and David A. Palmer and Rebecca Nedostup's *Superstitious Regimes* detail the challenges presented to Chinese Christianity in the twentieth century from secular modernity and the ambitions of the centralized state.[59]

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[56] Yamamoto. *History of Protestantism in China*: 75-76.
[57] Yamamoto. *History of Protestantism in China*: 391-392.
[58] Yamamoto. *History of Protestantism in China*: 394-401.
[59] Lian Xi's *Redeemed by Fire: Rise of Popular Christianity,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010)*;* Vincent Goossaert and David A. Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011)*;* Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009)

Overall, the China-centric scholarship and the emphasis on the indigenous roots of Chinese Christianity has thus restored the significance and centrality of Chinese leadership, associations, and the Chinese lay community to the development of Christianity in China and their larger sense of historical significance in China's past. Further, the incorporation of cultural anthropology to understand the adoption or reinterpretation of symbols, rituals, and narrative devices along with the emphasis on the dynamics of linguistic translation has also made this Chinese-centered approach much more precise and analytically specific about the cross-cultural exchange between foreign missionaries and the Chinese.[60]

Missing from these studies, however, is an analysis of how ideas about an indigenous Chinese Christianity influenced the ideology of Protestant missions and their supporters in countries like the U.S. The notion that native Christians should assume authority over church governance, evangelism, and finance, commonly referred to as the three-selfs—self-governance, self-propagation, and self-support—was an ideal that was integral to the CIM's philosophy of missionary work since the nineteenth century. The goal of making Christianity an indigenous faith in nations like China led to numerous reforms of missionary practices in the twentieth century. Conversely, I argue that for evangelical missions like the CIM signs of the missionary impulse among churches and groups in Asia were critical to their sense of respect and appreciation for the sovereignty and rights of the indigenous church.

[60] For example of the impact of cultural anthropology on these studies see: J.D.Y. Peel," For Who Hath Despised the Day of Small Things? Missionary Narratives and Historical Anthropology," Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 37 (1995): 581-607.

Within the context of the Cold War and decolonization, the sovereignty of the indigenous churches in Asia and their self-determination were increasingly important factors in the world of Protestant missions. I demonstrate the ways in which missionary mobility was reimagined as support for the spiritual self-determination for Christians in Asia, contributing to the scholarship on the indigenous Chinese church by illustrating how missions like the CIM negotiated ideas like the sovereignty and rights of indigenous Chinese Christianity. This was especially important as the mission and its agents made audiences in the U.S. aware that "stagnant" Asian societies were rapidly mobilized by the currents of nationalism, communism, mass education, urbanization, and modernization.

Secondly, the concept of missionary mobility teases out the meanings produced by the inclusion of Asian evangelicals within the international body of the Protestants missionary movement. Seeing groups such as the Chinese as increasingly mobile, modern, and educated, the mission gradually embraced racial integration within the missionary movement by opening its doors to Asian evangelicals. Following the exodus of missions from China, the mobility of Asian missionaries and their assimilation into organizations like the OMF took on a number of important ideological meanings for Protestant Christians. Creighton Lacy, historian and former China missionary, articulated many of these ideas when referring to the "lessons" recognized by the missionary movement in the aftermath of their exodus from China in the 1950s. According to Lacy, Protestant Christians saw missionaries from countries like China, India, Indonesia, as well as African nations as "invaluable tokens" that were evidence of the "universal, interdependent nature of Christianity." The flow of missionaries from these countries, he believed, "shows, in specific terms, that the Gospel is not a Western tradition and creed,

carried only by white men as a vessel of cultural imperialism." This was all the more important for Protestant evangelicals in western countries, as Lacy noted, as they argued with liberal-modernists over the necessity of self-propagation as the cornerstone of missions and the Christian faith.[61]

Lacy's comments suggest how significant the presence of non-white missionaries was to the Protestant missionary movement and hints at how the shared mobility of various races and nationalities as missionaries was seen as indicative of their unity and equality. Faced with divisions at home, white evangelicals in nations like the U.S. increasingly looked at racial diversity within the missionary organizations like the OMF as evidence that their values and ideals were universal in nature. Therefore, mobility as a historical lens offers the ability to weave together themes like imperialism while simultaneously considering the ways in the missionary's mobility reflected aspirations to transcend national, racial, and religious differences. Not surprisingly, then, missions like the CIM following their departure from China devoted more resources toward the goal of inspiring Asian evangelicals to a calling as missionaries as a means to restore a sense of Christianity's universality and free up the white missionary from associations with imperialism and racism.

These meanings associated with the mobility of Asian evangelicals were critical to a larger Cold War debate on human rights taking place within the international community. Scholars such as Akira Iriye and Petra Goedde have shown how during the Cold War the U.S. and Soviet Union engaged in a rhetorical battle over the definition of human rights; a debate that the CIM both participated in and was a focal point of as part

[61] Creighton Lacy, "The Missionary Exodus from China," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Dec., 1955): p. 309.

of the missionary movement.[62] Once expelled from China, the CIM became an advocate agency for the rights of groups such as Chinese Christians in the People's Republic of China and condemned communism for violating religious freedoms. Further, the society and its missionaries criticized numerous governments for restricting the missionary's evangelism. However, the society and the missionary in general also confronted rising voices in the U.S. and Asia that condemned the missionary for facilitating imperialism, racial discrimination, and stifling the self-determination of groups in Asia.

As Asian evangelicals were incorporated into the mission, the CIM and its evangelical supporters in the U.S. advocated that all Christians, regardless of race or nationality, retained the right to proselytize and move across borders as part of their faith and calling as missionaries. Ideas such as freedom of movement and expression, that were once apart of the privileged mobility of whites and rooted in extraterritoriality rights prior to the 1940s, were seen by U.S. evangelicals in the 1980s as human rights enjoyed by all Christians. Racial integration then protected the missionary movement from the charges of racism and imperialism, while also asserting that the missionary's freedom of movement and expression were rights immune to the sovereignty of the nation-state.

Conversely, I show how racial stereotypes about Chinese, other Asians, and even Chinese-Americans found within missionary discourse remained essential to the motivations of white evangelicals to be apart of the world of missions. Exhibiting the same "Wilsonian paradox" that Ruble attributes to the American missionary, the CIM promoted the idea that it was the duty of white evangelicals to guide "weak" or "immature" churches and Christians in Asia in their exercise of spiritual freedoms and

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[62] Akira Iriye and Petra Goedde, "Introduction: Human Rights as History," from *The Human Rights Revolution: An International History*, eds. Akira Iriye, Petra Goedded, and William I. Hitchcock (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012)

the missionary impulse. Old fears about the sincerity of the Chinese Christians or anxieties about the Sinicization of Christianity under the auspices of Chinese pastors continued to freight the mobility of white evangelical missionaries with meanings of surveilling Asian Christians and safeguarding the faith. Ultimately, I argue missionary mobility produced and disseminated ideas about religious freedom as a human right across the international community rooted in ambivalent, racialized attitudes toward Asians.

Method and Chapter Outline

In analyzing missionary mobility I look at four distinct modes of missionary work. The first, referred to by the CIM as pioneer evangelism, was defined by the missionary's expansive itineration in search of "unevangelized" areas with the goal of spreading the Gospel and planting churches. Under this philosophy of mission work the CIM missionary typically moved from place to place as soon as a community of believers appointed an indigenous pastor because of the mission's emphasis on pioneering and aspirations to build an indigenous church. The second mode of missionary work concerned the idea of discipleship training and cooperation with established churches wherein the missionary was rerouted toward existing communities of believers as a means to aid their spiritual-self determination. Missionaries assigned to this form of mission work frequently worked as roaming bible teachers, educators at seminaries, or were assigned to positions that required skills in radio, publishing, administration, or medicine. But missionaries engaged in discipleship training also frequently worked in tandem with native evangelists on evangelism campaigns and the coordination of student movements. The third category of missionary work concerns the efforts of former China

missionaries and members of the mission to engage in evangelism and discipleship training as tourists and expatriates in the 1970s and 1980s following Sino-American rapprochement. The fourth mode of work refers to the circulation of CIM missionaries in the U.S. as deputation speakers, representatives of the mission, and considers the society's influence on American evangelicals and the dissemination of the ideological meanings created by missionary mobility.

By studying the correspondence, reports, and oral histories of missionaries, I pay attention to the ways missionaries' experienced their foreignness but also expressed identification and unity with the populations they moved amongst. By examining notions such as the China or Japan as "heathen" nations or the Chinese churches as "weak," this research shows how ideas about difference were at the heart of the Protestant missionary endeavor. Secondly, in analyzing the movements of missionaries this work explores how the experience of foreignness reinforced racial and class discrimination between the missionary and native populations in Asia, including Asian Christians. But it also underscores how missionary mobility expressed ideas about equality, unity, and rights, and created targets for evangelicals in countries like the U.S. to focus their prayers on as spiritual weapons during the Cold War.

To examine the ideological meanings produced by missionary mobility this dissertation studies the prayer materials, publications, and rhetoric of the CIM to reveal the ideas that propelled missionaries to the field. In addition, representations of missionary mobility in photographs, slideshows, films, and travel accounts are used to reveal the messages sent home to audiences in countries like the U.S. that were created by missionary mobility. Beyond spiritual beliefs, I suggest how many times missionary

mobility was loaded with political desires such as the spread of self-determination, containment, and later advocacy for human rights. In this sense, the movements of missionaries engaged in missionary work such as pioneer evangelism represented their expansion. Secondly, I treat the effort of missionaries engaged in discipleship training and cooperation with native evangelicals in Asia as an endeavor to steer the spiritual self-determination by groups like the Chinese away from rival ideologies such as communism or anti-imperialism which threatened the flow of missions. Lastly, by charting the institutional spread of the CIM in the U.S. and its expansion and movement in Asia the dissertation suggests the dissemination of an ideology produced by mobility through transnational networks connecting Christians across the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans.

The first chapter, "Mobility and 'Pioneer Evangelism' in China," focuses on the methods of pioneer evangelism practiced by CIM missionaries, teasing out the ways in which mobility expressed the missionary's identification with Chinese but also a sense of racial superiority rooted in the mobility produced by extraterritoriality rights. Within this context, I argue that mobility was racialized by the movement of CIM missionaries within a regime of movement created by the Chinese Exclusion Acts in the U.S. and extraterritoriality rights enjoyed by Protestant missionaries in China. Joining with other Caucasian evangelicals from North American, Europe, and Australia, CIM missionaries experienced an essential sameness as whites rooted in movement as pioneering missionaries that was fundamentally different than that of the Chinese. Among the many ideological meanings created by missionary mobility was the notion that certain rights such as freedom of movement and expression were immune to the control of non-white regimes.

The second chapter considers the missionary's response to rising Chinese nationalism as the CIM routed missionaries through "Open Doors" to symbolize respect for Chinese spiritual sovereignty, a spiritual equivalent to the notion of political self-determination. Confronted with challenges produced by variants of Chinese nationalism and the Asia Pacific War, the CIM abandoned the tenets of pioneer evangelism in 1943 in favor of missionary practices emphasizing integration with Chinese churches and discipleship training designed to facilitate Chinese exercise of the three-selfs— self-support, self-governance, self-propagation.

The third chapter analyzes the missionary exodus to show how the CIM rallied evangelicals to engage in spiritual warfare against the Chinese Communist Party and Three Self Patriotic Movement while maintaining fellowship with Chinese Christians through prayerful intercession. Conversely, the immobilization and later expulsion of CIM missionaries produced profound spiritual and racial anxieties, challenging the evangelical's belief in ideas like divine sovereignty and Christianity's expansion in the context of decolonization and the Cold War. I put forward that while the CIM used stories of the missionary exodus to condemn the Chinese Communist Party in front of western audiences and rally spiritual aid to Chinese Protestants suffering religious persecution, the accounts of missionaries detained, interrogated, or denied departure by communist officials heightened the Cold War anxieties of U.S. evangelicals. Mainly, the CIM and its supporters feared that sovereign non-white regimes in post-colonial Asia would enact racial revenge, divesting the missionary of its privileged mobility by whites to the same forms of state power that circumscribed the mobility of Asian minorities in the West.

Chapters four and five examine the mission's redeployment in nations such as Japan and the Philippines under the new name of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF). The fourth chapter entitled "Redeployment and the New Fields: Pioneer Evangelism as Containment and Integration in East and Southeast Asia, 1951-1961" charts the OMF's entry in Singapore, Malaysia, Japan, Taiwan, Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia, Vitenam, and Laos, and return to pioneer evangelism as a means to prevent overseas Chinese from becoming a "fifth column" for communist revolutions. Expanding the mission's commission to include evangelism to non-Chinese in these countries, the OMF raced to expand Christianity's reach beyond the established churches and mission centers. The next chapter, "'Strategic' Dilemmas and Integration in the New Fields," looks at the 1960s as an era of crisis surrounding the OMF's ambitions in the New Fields as well as Protestant missions as a whole. Faced with challenges such as communist revolutions and explosive population growth and modernizing societies in Asia, the OMF's faith in the methods and ideology of pioneer evangelism once again waned. The society turned to a renewed emphasis on a church-centric focus to missionary work and integration with Asian Christians, in the U.S. and abroad, as the means to restore the evangelical missionary movement's vitality and dynamism. My contention is that racial integration and the church-centric focus were motivated by a sense that the international evangelical community was "losing" Asia, but also in danger of losing the evangelical's right to cross racial and national borders as an expression of faith.

The last chapter, "Rapprochement: 'Creative Access' Missions in the People's Republic of China, 1972-1989," charts the OMF's return to the PRC in the 1970s and 1980s as tourists and expatriates to analyze the dynamics of "missions to creative access

nations." While deferring to the sovereignty of Chinese Christians, the OMF utilized the growing currents of exchange and travel forming between the PRC and the world to aid Christianity's revival and pressure the government into granting Christians, foreign and domestic, greater religious freedom in the 1970s and 1980s. Conversely, the OMF also mobilized Christian professionals, scientists, teachers, and students to make contributions to China's modernization and reforms, raising hopes that "liberal" elements within the Chinese Communist Party, the Three Self Patriotic Movement and society could be won over to greater acceptance and tolerance of Christianity, if not outright conversion.

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Chapter 1

Mobility and "Pioneer Evangelism" in China

Introduction

Building off the work of scholars such as Tim Creswell this chapter explores the theoretical underpinnings embedded within the mobility of the Protestant missionaries during the era of "pioneer evangelism." Dating from the society's inception in the 1860s to end of the Pacific War, "pioneer evangelism" refers to a period and philosophy of mission work in China that emphasized reaching out to areas uninhabited by Christian communities with the missionary "planting" churches as they moved about and guiding Chinese Christians toward spiritual maturity. Under this schema of missions to China the CIM espoused support for the concept of indigenous Chinese Christianity, but understood the foreign missionary as the exercising leadership and sovereignty over Christianity's expansion and growth in society.

In this chapter, I argue that that the missionary's mobility and identity as a pioneer fulfilled American desires for complete and unhindered access to Chinese civilization. Secondly, the expansive itinerations employed by the CIM missionaries to these ends—made possible by extraterritoriality rights—built the sense that missionary mobility embodied ideas about both freedom of movement and expression, critical aspects of the concept of religious freedom in the twentieth century. Scholarship such as Matthew Frye Jacobson's *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples At Home and Abroad, 1876-1971* has shown how American industrialization and expansionism doubly exposed U.S. society to foreigners simultaneously as colonial subjects abroad and marginalized immigrants at home, creating complex, layered notions

of "whiteness" and "Americanness."[63] This chapter suggests how religious expansion and cooperation with Europeans reinforced racial lines between Chinese and whites that were loaded with ideas about religious rights. Consequently, as the relationship between China and the world changed in twentieth century and with it the relations between Chinese society and the missionary movement the image of the missionary as a "pioneer" was threatened by a number of historical events that altered the movement of missionaries and the meanings it produced.

Occupying China's Millions and Pioneer Evangelism

What makes the CIM a fascinating study in mobility then among other Protestant missions was its institutional drive to test the limits of missionary's movement within the Chinese interior and by extension its ideological meanings. While most mission societies concentrated on coastal provinces, the CIM endeavored to take the gospel to every province of the Qing Empire. Founded in 1865 by a British evangelical Hudson Taylor, the society had two unique agendas within the larger missionary movement. First, Taylor declared his intent to found a society to work only in China; no other country in the world. Secondly, the CIM claimed a call to work beyond the established centers of missionary work along the southern and eastern coastal provinces. Rather, the CIM dedicated itself to work within the Chinese interior zones in an attempt to leave no Chinese inaccessible to Christianity's message. Starting in the 1870s, Taylor and the society embarked upon a campaign to occupy every province within the Qing Empire so as to leave no region of China without at least fleeting contact with Christianity that was completed by the 1890s. From these posts, the society promised to always be moving in

[63] Matthew Frye Jacobson's *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples At Home and Abroad, 1876-1971* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000).

the direction of villages or regions in China without established Chinese Christian churches. Following Taylor's vision compelled succeeding generations of CIM missionaries to always be seeking "untouched" or "un-evangelized" areas of China. Through Taylor's vision the society established an evangelical philosophy of mission work founded in an ethos of mobility.

Inside China the society relied on a tirelessly mobile personnel. Taylor's urgency to take the gospel to the "unevangelised millions" propelled the society inward to the interior even as converts and churches remained low in number. The CIM community began in the southeastern coastal provinces of China before slowly penetrating the central regions and scattering small groups of missionaries across the west and north. In the 1860s, working from the province of Jiangsu the CIM first expanded in the province directly to the south, Zhejiang. By 1869, the CIM had spread to Anhui and Jianxi. In the 1870s, the society moved inland much more rapidly as the financial support base and international prestige of Taylor and the mission grew in stature. By the late 1870s, the CIM field had ballooned to include Hubei (1874), Henan (1874), Shaanxi (1876), Gansu (1876), Szechuan (1877), Guizhou (1877), and Yunnan (1877). Also, the society had grown large enough to devote personnel in areas like Shandong (1897) well-populated by the rest of the missionary movement, where it focused on building institutions such as schools, orphanages, and opium-refuges. By the end of the century, the essential territorial borders of the CIM's work had been established in the western and northern regions of the Qing Empire, with personnel working in Ningxia (1880), Mongolia (1886), Qinghai (1888), and Tibet (1897).[64] By the end of the nineteenth century, the CIM

[64] Annual Report of the China Inland Mission, "In Season and Out of Season," (Philadelphia, 1934).

occupied a position to at least theoretically bring all Chinese within the bounds of "China proper" into contact with Christianity.

By avoiding many of the coastal provinces like Guangdong or Fujian, the CIM missionaries laid claim to being the first point of contact between the Christian world and Chinese society. But building Protestant churches within these provinces was a slow and uneven process. Despite the society's emphasis on evangelism, the number of converts remained modest while the institutional network the CIM constructed across China was impressive. By the twentieth century, the society became the largest Protestant mission operating in China and perhaps the world. In 1934, the society had over 300 mission stations, just under 2,000 out-stations or affiliated Chinese churches, sixteen hospitals, over 450 bible schools, numerous educational institutions for women, as well as leprosariums, orphanages, and opium refuges. In terms of resources, the CIM was invested most heavily in Shaanxi, home to over fifty mission stations, 200 outstations, and 140 missionaries managed by the mission. Other areas with similar investment to Shaanxi in terms of personnel, institutions, and Chinese Christian followers included Gansu, Henan, Szechuan, Guizhou, Zhejiang, and Jiangxi.[65]

The CIM had also created a substantial network of voluntary and paid Chinese Christian workers. In Shaanxi, the CIM employed over 220 Chinese Christians as full or part-time workers, and enjoyed the services of another 230 volunteers. The area was home to one of the largest group of Chinese Christian communities affiliated with the CIM with the total number of communicants exceeding 8,700 members. In Shanxi, the numbers were similar. The society claimed over 270 paid workers, 130 volunteers, and

[65] Annual Report of the China Inland Mission, "In Season and Out of Season," (Philadelphia, 1934)

9500 communicants. In each province, the majority of paid workers, full and part time, and volunteers were Chinese men. But many women also served as full and part-time workers. In Shaanxi, for example, 114 men were full-time workers, forty-two part-time, and 233 Chinese males volunteered their services for the CIM. In contrast, fifty-four women were employed full-time, just twelve were part-time workers, and sixty-one female volunteers. Even though the total number of communicants for the CIM and annual baptisms were split fairly evenly between men and women, opportunities for Chinese men to be compensated for Christian work were greater, which may explain why the vast majority of volunteers for CIM work were men as well (nation-wide male volunteers totaled 1936 to just 411 women). Either way, the preference for employing men reflected both the CIM's and local Chinese gender values, while still offering a substantial number of women societal and professional roles in the churches. Altogether, the CIM had a considerable socio-economic impact on the local economies it inhabited through employment opportunities as well investment in schools, relief, and medicine.[66]

However, the imperative to occupy the "Chinese frontier" of the missionary movement also meant the distribution of the CIM institutions and resources in many areas remained terribly humble. For instance, although the CIM sent missionaries to Tibet in the 1930s their work had barely created more than a single small community of Christians. The area occupied the work of six missionaries, but the Christians associated with the mission numbered only nineteen. In Manchuria, the work carried on by three missionaries had no mission post or geographic center, and was almost entirely a process of wandering itineration and distribution of tracts.[67] In Hubei, the number of CIM

[66] Annual Report of the China Inland Mission, "In Season and Out of Season," (Philadelphia, 1934)
[67] Annual Report of the China Inland Mission, "In Season and Out of Season," (Philadelphia, 1934)

missionaries, eight, outnumbered the sum of communicants, three. In Jiangsu, another coastal province and the area occupied by the CIM the longest, the institutional presence remained relatively small, only five mission stations and just over twenty outstations. [68] As such, this focus on maintaining a presence in all of the provinces of seemed to be rather inefficient use of resources and personnel, but one that was necessitated by Taylor's vision and the society's priority of being pioneers for Christianity. The result being that the society was geographically widely dispersed and yet in some regions wholly irrelevant to the social and religious lives of the Chinese communities they encountered.

The pocket of provinces inside China where the CIM worked also reinforced a growing rift with the liberal-modernist wing of Protestantism. In the controversies dividing the fundamentalist-evangelical and liberal-modernists camps of the international Protestant community in the twentieth century, the CIM institutionally was squarely within the fundamentalist-evangelical camp. Theologically, the CIM administration would not countenance a turn away from prioritizing China's spiritual salvation. As other missions embarked upon the Social Gospel and its methods for mission work in China, the CIM remained solely focused on conversion and church-building. According to one of the earliest historians of Christian missions Kenneth Latourette, "by 1911, less than half the total missionary staff was engaged in direct fundamentalist work, and the proportion would have been still smaller had not the great majority the member of the China Inland Mission…been in that type of activity."[69] Increasingly, this fact left the CIM divorced from the ideological agendas of the national leadership of the Chinese churches

[68] Annual Report of the China Inland Mission, "In Season and Out of Season," (Philadelphia, 1934)
[69]Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), p. 619.

emanating from cities like Shanghai or Beijing and the liberal-modernist agenda of missions working in the coastal provinces. Far removed from the majority of missions and Chinese Christians, the CIM found itself among a dwindling number of voices in China advocating the principles of evangelism.

This issue of distance, in terms of geography but also ideology and theology, was compounded by the process of church-building undertaken by the CIM in the interior. Although the CIM was interdenominational, the society's principles of faith were firmly within the evangelical tradition. Frequently, the CIM voiced criticism of the liberal-modernist variant in the Sino-Protestant community. Beginning in the 1920s with its resignation from the National Christian Council the society remained aloof from coordinating its agenda with the national leadership of Chinese Christianity. Transfers of property or control over religious institutions to Chinese Christians codified that the congregation's ownership was founded upon its future commitment to remain evangelical in orientation. This along with the leadership and direction CIM missionaries exercised over congregations initiated under their auspices meant that relatively few churches affiliated with the CIM had regional or national ties to other Christian groups. In essence, CIM affiliated Chinese churches were largely a "CIM denomination" which was theologically, geographically, and socially separate and distinct from organizations like the National Christian Council of China or YMCA.[70]

The geographic focus on remote or un-evangelized areas of China along with this factionalism in no doubt impacted the number of the CIM's followers among the Chinese as well. Despite having the largest missionary body in China, the membership in

[70] David Anthony Huntley, "The Withdrawal of the China Inland Mission from China; and their Redeployment to New Fields in East Asia-An Understanding of the Methodology and Decision-Making Process," Thesis (Ph.D) - Trinity Theological Seminary and University of Liverpool, 2002, p. 23.

churches founded by the CIM numbered only around 85,000 by the end of the mission's work in 1949. Of the estimated 900,000 some Protestant Christians living in China by 1949, the CIM was directly responsible for less than 10 percent of the Chinese Christian community.[71] The concentration on moving on to form new congregations outside the centers of Christian strength along the coast most certainly kept the number of CIM communicants relatively low. Thus, the location of the CIM's work and its emphasis on evangelism the smallest and newest congregations of Chinese Protestants contributed to the society's isolation from the national leadership and luminaries of Christianity in China.

The insularity of the CIM from the larger community was also a result of the society's "in-house ethos." Over the course of several decades, the CIM created network of schools, hospitals, and banks effectively allowed nearly aspects of life in China for members to be routed through the mission society. The construction of a school for mission children first in the city of Yantai, known then as Chefoo, and other resources such as will-handling were devised to keep cover nearly every aspect of the mission's work. The organization even went so far as to issue its own currency during periods of social and political instability in China.[72] Even marriages were encouraged to be "in-house" as single women and men were forced to either marry another CIM member or have their fiancés vetted by the CIM administrators.[73]

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[71] David Anthony Huntley, "The Withdrawal of the China Inland Mission from China; and their Redeployment to New Fields in East Asia-An Understanding of the Methodology and Decision-Making Process," Thesis (Ph.D) - Trinity Theological Seminary and University of Liverpool, 2002, p. 23.
[72] David Anthony Huntley, "The Withdrawal of the China Inland Mission from China; and their Redeployment to New Fields in East Asia-An Understanding of the Methodology and Decision-Making Process," Thesis (Ph.D) - Trinity Theological Seminary and University of Liverpool, 2002, p. 24.
[73] David Anthony Huntley, "The Withdrawal of the China Inland Mission from China; and their Redeployment to New Fields in East Asia-An Understanding of the Methodology and Decision-Making Process," Thesis (Ph.D) - Trinity Theological Seminary and University of Liverpool, 2002, p. 43.

This is not to suggest that the CIM wholly separated itself from the larger missionary movement. The CIM continued to cooperate with many mission societies in several regions, but still mostly within the realms of preaching, distributing Christian literature, or training Chinese workers. And while the CIM leadership criticized much of the Social Gospel platform, the society shared with the dominant liberal-modernist wing of Protestantism a conviction that what it offered to the Chinese was superior to native values and ideas that would make the society and nation ultimately better, spiritually and materially.[74] What the CIM resisted was any trend in mission work that put the latter before the former.

In order to understand how meanings and ideas associated with mobility were produced, let's first consider the missionary's movement under the society's principles and strategies of pioneer evangelism. The movement of Protestant missionaries within the CIM network can be broken down into several stages. The first stage of a movement revolved around the training and observation of missionary candidates by the CIM home centers staff in the U.S. After applying via mail, Americans interested in serving were usually invited to meet with the nearest CIM representatives from the society's offices in Philadelphia, Chicago, or Los Angeles. If approved, they were then invited to candidate schooling and training usually either in Toronto or Philadelphia. While at the mission home as prospective members, they studied the CIM training tools, completed interviews with the home staff, and underwent physical examinations as the society determined their qualifications and fitness for serving the mission. Once accepted as a member, the

[74] Miwa Hirono, *Civilizing Missions: International Religious Agencies in China* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008) p. 81.

missionary awaited their transportation to the field, often making their way to either San Francisco or Vancouver to travel across the seas to China.[75]

During the second stage, the missionary left North America to arrive in China usually via Japan. During this stage, new members traveling across the Pacific Ocean in cohorts on transpacific steamships often visited Japan before arriving in Shanghai. Once in Shanghai, new members met the executive staff and General Director at the mission headquarters located on Sinza Road in the International Settlement in Shanghai and underwent an orientation lasting no more than a week. During this time the majority of members spent several days in Shanghai touring the international settlement, aiding the Shanghai staff in mission work and worship services, and purchasing supplies unavailable in inland China. After the orientation, new members were sent to language schools. For much of the society's history in China, men and women went to separate language schools. Female members traveled over three hundred miles north to Jiangsu province to the city of Yangzhou. Male missionaries usually traveled to the city of Anqing in Anhui province. In both locations, CIM junior missionaries ideally concentrated only on study and examinations in Mandarin for a period of around six months. Not until the mid-1930s did the CIM decide to combine the language schools into a single location in Anqing. Once the period of intensive language training was complete, CIM superintendents interviewed junior missionaries and assigned posts.[76]

The missionary's beginning his or her career as "pioneers" for the Protestant evangelical movement in China, then, marked the third general stage. From the language

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[75] Interview of Marguerite Owen by Bob Shuster, June 6, 1997. Collection 534, T4, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

[76] Interview of Marguerite Owen by Bob Shuster, June 6, 1997, Collection 534, T4, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

schools, CIM members traveled across the interior of China to their posts in Anhui, Henan, Tibet, Shansi, Shaansi, etc. Assigned to mission stations typically in a provincial capital or large city, the junior missionary was placed under the supervision of senior missionaries for a period of two years as the senior missionary and district superintendent oversaw their training in evangelism and continued language study. Once in the field, they assumed the various tasks of what was known as pioneer evangelism prescribed by the CIM.

Within each province, the society's missionaries worked according to a biblical script taken from the New Testament that also maximized the exposure that trade routes and commerce could provide the Gospel. According to the CIM's evangelical understanding of the life and teachings of the Apostle Paul, in each province the CIM missionary first established a mission station in the provincial capital. Beyond reflecting scripture, the CIM's expansion located missionaries within provincial capitals first as a means to make existing trade routes and flows of Chinese to political centers expedite the spread of the Gospel. For example, in provinces like Sichuan, CIM missionaries first opened a station in Chongqing before moving on to larger neighboring cities along the Yangtze River.[77]

Once assigned to a post, the institutional call to reach the "un-evangelized" Chinese and practices of pioneer evangelism kept missionaries moving about cities and roadways preaching, distributing literature, and counseling potential converts on how to worship, study the Bible, or establish a congregation. Within cities the missionary engaged in attracting converts by street preaching and distributing tracts. Following the

[77] John B. Kuhn, "Strategic Centers," *East Asia Millions*, October 1961.

daily flow of commerce, usually missionaries started their days at the city gates, distributing literature or attracting interested onlookers. By the afternoon missionaries relocated to street chapels, storefronts converted to gospel halls located in city markets, where they worked to attract businessmen, merchants, and other Chinese frequenting the market for goods and services. In late afternoons, CIM missionaries typically either replenished their supplies of tracts and Gospels to wander the city streets again or frequented tea-shops and other establishments open to the public. House to house visitations also were a common daily activity and practice of missionary mobility in cities.

Outside of the provincial capitals, CIM missionaries also worked at other methods of pioneering such as the practices of tent and wayward evangelism. Tent evangelism required CIM missionaries to set up tents near villages or along roadways to serve as a home base to hold worship services and distribute pamphlets and scriptures across the district. Moving ten to fifteen miles at a time, tent evangelists worked themselves farther and farther from the capital until they ran out of supplies. Wayward evangelism was far less systematic, but equally painstaking, since it required missionaries to set out from the mission stations and reach out to each and every person and home they encountered as they traveled to and fro. Ever more popular by the 1930s was the practice of using evangelism bands or teams of workers. Performing essentially the same tasks, preaching or distributing literature, the bands were usually comprised of Chinese workers accompanied by a single missionary. The goal with each method was to travel as far and wide as possible to build a "small nuclei" of Chinese converts that would grow into a

church that would be labeled an "outstation," otherwise known as a CIM-affiliated church, that the CIM missionary visited frequently.[78]

Once pockets of converts were formed in communities outside the provincial capitals, the work of CIM missionaries was devoted to church-building and discipleship training. In terms of church-building, the CIM missionary served as an advisor or was the authority in matters of governance, finance, planning, and worship for Chinese churches. As for discipleship training, the CIM missionary typically provided bible study courses and spiritual counseling to help converts mature in their faith and understanding of Christian theology. However, both of these activities kept missionaries constantly moving about from provincial capitals to the countryside as they were responsible for several congregations at once. In areas without Chinese pastors or established lay leaders, the missionary led worship services, established services such as bible schools or women's programs, and directed the work of Chinese Protestants.[79] Constant contact and correspondence with CIM-affiliated churches and neophytes then also kept the missionary on the roads and waterways of China.[80] Thus, in each province missionaries flowed back and forth between the provincial capital and more rural, remote villages, between city and more densely populated areas and the countryside. And the society's emphasis on pioneering and commitment to the ideal of creating indigenous Chinese churches according to the three-selfs kept CIM missionaries moving in search of forming new communities of believers and populations or areas to open to Christianity.

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[78] China Inland Mission *Handbook: Principles and Practices of the China Inland Mission* (1938), Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[79] Katherine E. Kreick, "The Iron Did Swim," *China's Millions,* November 1945.
[80]Interview of Paul A. Contento by Robert D. Shuster, December 9, 1992, Collection 472, T2. Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

The fourth and final stage of missionary movement was typified by leaving China either on furlough or resignation and this pattern of movement that is much more difficult to describe. After several years in the field, generally no fewer than five or six years, missionaries became eligible for furlough and returned to their home countries, generally following much the same route as they had taken to their posts. After a period of two years, members were expected to return to the field sometimes to their previous posts but often to a new area worked by the CIM. But rarely did the missionary's career and movement follow such a typical pattern. For many, special circumstances such as poor physical and mental health were occasionally grounds for the society granting missionaries furlough before such a time period had been served. In other cases, friction between junior and senior missionaries necessitated redeployment or reassignment to a new field before the first term had been completed. And a large number of missionaries resigned early into their careers for a variety of reasons such as disillusionment with mission work and life in the countryside; others who struggled as evangelists were reassigned to posts within the CIM's schools and hospitals, or administrative work at the headquarters in Shanghai. In any case, the length of each missionary's term varied greatly and his or her careers and paths out of China were diverse.

In spite of these idealized stages of the missionary's movement, there were a number of complications that profoundly impacted the movement of CIM members throughout their careers. First, CIM missionaries evangelizing China followed the pathways established by local and provincial commerce. Hopping from one nearby market to another miles down the road and often pushing wheelbarrows loaded with gospel tracts and hymnbooks, missionaries traveled along established commercial routes

to capitalize on the rotation of market days between neighboring villages and cities. With markets operating every other day, missionaries tried to time their arrival in one village on the day before its market opened, allowing them a chance to look for a suitable place to preach or hand out mission literature. A typical spot for CIM missionaries to set up were the village's gates in the early morning hours to catch the Chinese traders, vendors, and shoppers at the market's points of entry and exit. Using the crowded markets, the CIM was able to easily distribute thousands of copies of mission publications. By the late afternoon, missionaries usually moved their activity to some part of the market square to begin preaching utilizing the society's large posters. In this way the daily routine of evangelism was also ordered by the social conventions of the Chinese market as well. When vendors and traders folded up their tents and moved for the day, the CIM agents did so as well, moving onto the next city. And like the vendors, the length of these campaigns lasted as long as the missionary had supplies, sometimes for just a day and other times for eight to ten days on the road. When out of tracts to hand out, the missionary teams returned to the mission station to rest and resupply before heading out in a different direction but again plotted along the market towns of rural areas. [81]

Although in its representational form the missionary's movement was represented as "unrestricted," there were practical matters that constrained the missionary's movement within China. Although the missionary's mobility was associated with freedom, it was in reality dependent upon a number of factors, foremost among them language. Rarely, did CIM members achieve a fluency that allowed them to evangelize in city streets or alongside country roads without the assistance of Chinese, making

[81] Interview of Vincent Leroy Crossett by Paul Ericksen, Friday, November 16, 1984, Collection 288, T4, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

movement rather dependent on local companions, guides, and fellow travelers. Because of this fact, the demands on the time and energy of Chinese Protestants were as great as on the demands on the time and energy of Chinese Protestants. As member Vincent Crossett recalls, junior missionaries still studying the language relied especially heavily on Chinese speakers. He remembers in his first five years of service, "we'd put up a poster, and just try to explain things and then….and then if someone showed an interest we'd try to get somebody to come up and explain what he understood we said." The same was true for Crossett and other junior missionaries on their trips to the countryside, "often, any Christian going through we'd…we'd rope him in and get him to give his testimony and explain Scriptures and explain the posters."[82] Due to the linguistic barrier, the missionary's movement was not free of Chinese control, but in reality dependent on Chinese aid and assistance. And the result was to place a heavy demand on Chinese Protestants' time and energy. Additionally, the environment surrounding the missionary's movement created difficulties and hindrances as well, especially in regards to safety. Political and social turmoil produced many periods when movement was unsafe for missionaries. Notable examples include the Boxer Uprising 1898-1900, Northern Expedition and Anti-Christian campaigns of the 1920s, Japanese Occupation, and Chinese Civil War. Work in Xinjiang and Sichuan was also disrupted in the early 1930s as political conflicts erupted and resulted in regional and local regimes barring CIM members from working in the region.[83]

Lastly, the movement of missionaries was also structured by China's seasonal climates and available transportation. In the mid-to-late 1920s especially, CIM

[82] Interview of Vincent Leroy Crossett by Paul Ericksen, April 7, 1986, Collection 288, T5, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[83] Annual Report of the China Inland Mission, "In Season and Out of Season," (Philadelphia, 1934)

missionaries rarely traveled except in the company of an escort from their local communities.[84] Much of the itinerant evangelism in the countryside in areas like Anhui was completed in the fall and spring as temperatures in the summer and winter were in most years too extreme for extensive travel. And transportation, or the lack thereof, greatly influenced the flows of CIM work. Sundays, as one might expect, were a highpoint of Christian movement and activity, as evangelism teams spread out to outlying villages and traveled to hold worship services at the CIM's many outstations. Traveling by foot, many Christians walked around three to five miles to nearby outstations, while evangelism teams with bicycles traveled up to twenty or thirty miles to outposts of the CIM farther away from the provincial centers and established churches.[85] In mountainous areas like Yunnan, the transportation choice for missionaries was between horseback and walking.[86]

CIM member Jennie Fitzwilliam's first year of mission work in 1927 is a perfect illustration of many of these issues. Her trip to the field took the Moody graduate from Chicago to Toronto to Vancouver, where she departed for China on the British boat, *The Empress of Asia*, with a layover of several days in Tokyo before she reached Shanghai. From there, she followed the typical route of the female CIM missionary, a several day orientation in Shanghai was followed by an over three-hundred mile trip by train to Yangzhou for language training before being designated for assignment. She would only be there for a few months before she and the entire CIM missionary force were evacuated

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[84] Interview of Jennie Kingston Fitzwilliam by Paul Ericksen, June 13, 1984, Collection 272, T1, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[85] Interview of Vincent Leroy Crossett by Paul Ericksen, Friday, November 16, 1984, Collection 288, T4, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[86]Interview of Jennie Kingston Fitzwilliam by Paul Ericksen, June 13, 1984, Collection 272, T1, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

to the International Settlement in Shanghai to wait out the Northern Expedition military campaign of the Guomindang to unify the country. Not until 1929 did Fitzwilliam finally take her post in Yunnan, by way of travel through Singapore and Burma. Once there, however, she was largely unable to go anywhere without a member of the Lisu ethnicity to work as her translator and guide since her Mandarin was largely useless with the area's largely non-Mandarin speaking communities.

Eleven years later, her return to Yunnan from Shandong province was prevented by the aggression of Japanese forces in the region, forcing her to be reassigned to the CIM's school for missionary children, the Chefoo School, in Yentai.[87] Her work was again disrupted by the Japanese military two years later as Fitzwilliams and the rest of the Chefoo School faculty and student body were placed in an internment camp in the city of Weifang. She would be repatriated in a matter of weeks, leaving China through India to return to the U.S. where she worked in the mission's youth hostel for the schoolchildren whose parents remained at work as missionaries in China. Her last post as a missionary in China would also be altered, this time by the Chinese Civil War. After serving the CIM as a deputation worker in the U.S. Fitzwilliam's scheduled return to China in 1949 was canceled as a result of the CCP's victory and increasing hostility toward missions. [88]

Fitzwilliams' career illustrates the variability of the individual missionary's movement, which is important since not all movement produced ideological meanings or signified the values of the CIM. Her career also illustrates just how much of the missionary's movement was dependent on external forces beyond their control such as

[87] Interview of Jennie Kingston Fitzwilliam by Paul Ericksen, June 13, 1984, Collection 272, T1, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[88] Interview of Jennie Kingston Fitzwilliam by Paul Ericksen, June 13, 1984, Collection 272, T1, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

language, political conflict, customs, climate, and cultural hospitality or indifference to foreigners. What should be noted then was that the movements that did produce meanings and signify values, going to China and evangelizing in society, were often represented in ways that often contradicted the missionary's actual exercise of movement.

Harvesting U.S. Evangelical Might

Conversely, the society's strong evangelical identity and association with the "frontier" in China gave it considerable influence within the U.S. However, as in China, the society's stature and influence in the U.S. in the nineteenth century started out incredibly humble. Originally a British mission society in the 1860s, the China Inland Mission had been transformed into an international mission by the early 1880s thanks to its ever-expanding publications and the international popularity of its founder. The international scope of the society's recruitment and presence within the world missionary movement steadily expanded over the next several decades. By the 1950s, home councils had been formed in North America, New Zealand, Australia, and South Africa in addition to its councils throughout the United Kingdom. Coupled with the CIM's associate missions throughout Europe, the mission society had built an expansive network of evangelism, publishing, and humanitarian work on four continents directed toward the salvation of Chinese. Additionally, the headquarters of the CIM were located in Shanghai since the 1870s, a fact quite unusual among the majority of Protestant missions during this era. Unlike most Protestant missions that drew personnel and resources from a single society to send to a number of foreign nations in South America, Asia, or Africa, the CIM drew upon an international body of Christian communities to minister to a single society, an exceptional expression of internationalism among the missionary movement.

The CIM then was an outlet for an internationalist vein among U.S. Protestants who desired to cooperate with evangelicals around the globe. As the U.S. Council Handbook stated, "The love of Christ overrules national and ecclesiastical boundaries, and the China Inland Mission is a living testimony to the fact that the born again children of God are truly one in Christ. As an outlet for men and means, the Mission is the servant and helper of all evangelical Protestant churches, especially of those who do not have a work of their own in China."[89] Through the society's interdenominationalism and internationalism the mission made claims to represent the entire body of Protestant Christianity, not a particular denomination or region.

The character of the CIM and its internationalist credentials, however, was a gradual process. In the nineteenth century, Protestants in London and the British Isles dominated the institution's outlook and finances with only modest contributions from members in North America or Australia. In London, the society enjoyed the support or membership of a number of leading Christian statesmen making its influence in the United Kingdom relatively greater than in the other home societies. And a number of U.S. members and non-members alike still identified the CIM as a "British" mission in terms of identity or structure or philosophy well-into the mid-twentieth century. This no small part also reflected that prior to the Second World War British politicians and

[89] This aspect of the CIM dovetailed nicely with the trend among fundamentalist-evangelical groups forming intra-denominational organizations in the 1930s and 1940s outside of established churches and mainline institutions. The combination of the CIM's internationalism provided U.S. members an outlet that satisfied its desires to collaborate with Christian communities outside the U.S. on projects that were decidedly evangelical in nature. Many of these projects had by the twentieth century shifted away from the priority of evangelism and leaned toward the programs of the Social gospel and were dominated by liberal-modernist theology and outlook. Against the growing fundamentalist-evangelical and liberal-modernist split of the early twentieth century, the CIM's securely evangelical identity evaded the controversy dividing denominational boards in the U.S. and offered a channel for U.S. evangelicals to collaborate with groups in North America and Europe. China Inland Mission *Handbook: Principles and Practices of the China Inland Mission* (1938), Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

diplomats were a powerful force within the international community in China, a fact the CIM exploited many times to gather information and monitor the effect of political events on the missionary's status in China.[90]

But overtime, the interests, ideas, wealth, and politics of Protestants in the U.S. and Canada increasingly pulled at the CIM's attention and resources. The origins of the CIM's spread in the U.S. lay in Taylor's North America tour of Protestant churches and conferences in 1888. Taylor had been invited to take his message about the Chinese to U.S. audiences by Henry Frost, a Canadian businessman, in 1887. Along his tour of New York, Niagara Falls, Chicago, and Massachusetts, Taylor had a profound impact on Canadian and U.S. clergy, lay leaders, and especially Christian youth. In response, the first contingent of fourteen missionaries from North America left to join Taylor's mission in 1888. His writings like *China's Spiritual Needs and Claims* and later autobiography would continue over the next few decades to inspire U.S. audiences….

> Four hundred millions! What mind can grasp it? Marching in single file on yard apart they would circle the world at its equator more than ten times. Were they to march past the reader, at a rate of thirty miles a day, they would move on and on, day after day, week after week, month after month; and more than twenty-three years and a half would elapse before the last individual passed by…Four hundred million souls, 'having no hope, and without God in the world'…an army whose forces, if placed singly, father more than four hundred yards apart and within call of each other would extend from the earth to the sun! who, standing hand in hand,

[90] David Anthony Huntley, "The Withdrawal of the China Inland Mission from China; and their Redeployment to New Fields in East Asia-An Understanding of the Methodology and Decision-Making Process," Thesis (Ph.D) - Trinity Theological Seminary and University of Liverpool, 2002, p.23-25.

> might extend over a greater distance than from this globe to the moon! The number is inconceivable—the view is appalling.[91]

Through constant references to the Qing empire's "millions" of non-Christians and vast population, Taylor made a powerful appeal to U.S. Protestants to envision China as the most urgent frontier for evangelical expansion and moral uplift. Against the imagery of Chinese as a "yellow-horde" as a racial menace to the western civilization found in American popular culture, Taylor inspired Protestants in the U.S. to think of the salvation of the Chinese masses as a profound spiritual crisis for Christianity to tackle as an international body by imagining them marching in unison to eternal damnation.

Taylor's tour led to the creation of the CIM's North American Council, composed of representatives from the U.S. and Canada in 1888. By 1901, the U.S.'s ascendance within the missionary movement necessitated moving the CIM's North American headquarters from Toronto to Philadelphia to facilitate recruitment, training, and publicity for the society. In the 1920s, the CIM's expanding work and reach in the U.S. led to additional mission offices "strategically placed" in Chicago and Los Angeles. And if not for the concerns about expansion of the North American Council during the Great Depression, it would have almost certainly led to a CIM center in Dallas by the early 1930s to reach Protestant evangelicals in the South. Still, the mission somehow managed to thrive in the U.S. despite the crisis, sending 200 new workers to the field in the early 1930s, and U.S. support remained critical to maintaining a force of over 1000 missionaries in China throughout the decade.

[91] Hudson Taylor, *China's Spiritual Needs* (London, 1868).

To compete with the denominational missions of the U.S. required keeping the society's message in constant circulation to reach U.S. audiences. To do so, participation in mission conferences was a critical tool for recruiting and promoting the society. From the early 1900s onward, the CIM cooperated with a number of U.S. evangelical mission societies in conferences each year. In addition, the society held CIM Mission Conferences in a large number of cities in several Eastern and Midwestern states annually and in many years twice a year. Particularly popular were the conferences held near Niagara Falls which attracted audiences from the U.S. and Canada to hear the CIM speakers in the 1910s. During mission conferences, Protestant evangelicals gathered together for anywhere from one day to three days to hear stories of the work, travel, danger, and conversion in Chinese society. Overtime, the number of cities holding CIM conferences grew dramatically. In 1924, the society held conferences in around four major American cities. By 1930 the number of cities was over thirty.[92] The society's longer history among U.S. churches and Christian organizations on the East Coast meant that the majority of CIM Conferences were held in metropolitan areas like Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York City, and Washington, D.C.

In addition to the conferences, the CIM was able to disseminate a vast literature to the U.S. public about China and the society's call to the Chinese from its home offices in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Popular among U.S. audiences were the CIM's biographies of missionaries like Taylor as well as a number of books detailing the lives of leading Chinese converts. Especially after the Boxer Uprising, books on Christian

[92] Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

martyrdom, both Chinese and foreign, were widely printed and distributed by the CIM.[93] The CIM also produced a number of maps, posters, and audiovisual materials available for purchase as well.[94] Available for order by catalogue or mail, the CIM donated many of these materials each year to libraries, Christian colleges, or handed them out at various conferences.

Magazines and pamphlets were another facet of the CIM's literature program in the U.S. Perhaps the most widely distributed was *China's Millions,* the society's monthly magazine, which contained photographs, illustrations, maps, stories, and reports from the CIM missionaries in the field "intended to present the CIM and China to the Christian public."[95] Through the magazine, missionaries contributed to the cultural knowledge of U.S. audiences on a vast number of topics including Chinese history, social and cultural conventions, and the progress of Christian missions. The society also focused on targeting specific segments in the U.S. like Christian youth with magazines like *Young China*. While subscriptions to certain publications like *Young China* remained incredibly modest (just over 500 total in North American in 1930), other publications such as *China's Millions* grew to be a definitive source of information for the U.S. evangelical's perspective on China. In the late 1940s, the CIM began distributing millions of copies of *China's Millions* a month, with an all-time high of thirteen million in May of 1948. By this point, the CIM had also begun negotiations to make articles and editorials by staff and excerpts from *China's Millions* available to a number of Protestant periodicals

[93] For examples see Geraldine Taylor, *With P'u and His Brigands* (London: China inland Mission, 1922); Archibald E. Glover, *A Thousand Miles of Miracle in China: A Personal Record of God's Delivering Power From the Hands of the Imperial Boxers of Shan-si* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1931)
[94] Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[95] Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

including *Moody Monthly*. Printing of mission pamphlets expanded dramatically in the 1940s, and during a stretch from January 1947 to May 1948 the society produced around a quarter million for distribution.[96]

The society's standing with U.S. Protestant evangelicals was also built through connections with many leading seminaries, bible colleges, and liberal arts colleges. Labeled "feeder" institutes since they often supplied the mission with candidates and prayer networks of support, the CIM relationship was strongest in areas immediately surrounding the centers in Philadelphia, Los Angeles, or Chicago. For example, in Chicago the CIM enjoyed close relations with the Moody Bible Institute from the 1890s onwards thanks to the friendship of Taylor and evangelist Dwight L. Moody. Nearby Wheaton College, alma mater of leading U.S. evangelicals Billy Graham and theologian Carl Henry, also became an important "feeder" in the 1930s and 1940s. Both Wheaton and Moody provided a fertile ground for recruiting future missionaries as many students later became members of the CIM.

Excerpts from an oral history with former CIM missionary Jennie Kingston Fitzwilliam, a graduate of the Moody Bible Institute in 1925, illustrates the CIM's networking on the campuses of Christian colleges and presence among the student body at Moody…

> When I got there (Moody) the Lord directed my thoughts toward China. I couldn't tell you just how. I joined the China prayer group…became interested in China, Dr. Isaac Page, who was the China Inland Mission representative in the Midwest lived in Chicago, was a very great influence in my life. He was a great favorite of

[96] Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

> all of us and he used to have us out to his home on Monday nights…and we had great times of fellowship and great times of fun. And he impressed on us…if we felt called to China, then we were called to China and nothing in this world should be allowed to distract us.

Numerous other Moody and Wheaton students participated in the society's monthly China Prayer Band exposing them to the CIM's agenda in China. Activities organized by the CIM, praying and singing about China or listening to stories of missionaries on furlough, for Fitzwilliam became the dominant force in her social circle at Moody, "we had what you'd call a little China clique…. We were very, very close friends and that fellowship meant a lot. It was just like one big family." Among Fitzwilliam's "China clique" were John and Isobel Kuhn, and Hazel Williamson all of whom joined the China Inland Mission as missionaries. Another close friend of Fitzwilliam's, Ethel Harper, applied for the CIM but was denied because of health concerns. Fitzwilliam remembers Page's effect on Christian youth, "He was a former missionary of the CIM and he was just the kind of person young people are influenced by. He was warm, friendly, jolly. And we were all just very enthusiastic about him and his appeal for missionaries."[97] At Moody, Page's efforts in the 1930s were amplified by Dr. Robert Hall Glover, professor of Missionary Principles and Practices and later Home Director for the North American branch of the CIM and a leading figure in the field of missiology in the U.S.[98]

Through educators like Page and Glover the CIM built a powerful rapport with Christian youth in key evangelical institutions. While unusually well-connected to key

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[97] Interview of Jennie Kingston Fitzwilliam by Paul Ericksen, Collection 272, T1, June 13, 1984, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[98] Interview of Jennie Kingston Fitzwilliam by Paul Ericksen, June 13, 1984, Collection 272, T1, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

Protestant evangelical institutions in Chicago, the CIM presence was also strong in urban areas with Christian campuses in Baltimore (Faith Theological Seminary), Los Angeles (Fuller Theological Seminary and Bible Institute of Los Angeles), and Santa Barbara (Westmont College). But there was also efforts made to create relationships with more remote but important evangelical institutions in rural areas such as Asbury College in Wilmore, Kentucky.[99]Invitations from groups such as the Student Volunteer Movement were another way that the CIM strengthened its connections to college youth. From the CIM offices in Philadelphia, representatives like Dr. Robert Glover were well-positioned to attract support from branches of the Student Volunteer Movement at Princeton as well.[100]

The creation of prayer networks was a critical facet of the CIM's influence in the U.S. in the twentieth century. Throughout the CIM's history, prayer was constantly championed as a critical force capable of channeling spiritual power from the home countries to the work in China. As Henry Frost stated the society had been "born in prayer and sustained in prayer," and "every soul won to Christ an answer to prayer, every difficulty overcome, every missionary sent," to China was believed to be the result of prayers from Christians in the West.[101]

Since every aspect of the mission's work from travel to preaching was envisioned as dependent upon prayer and God's will, indexes of CIM personnel, statistical tables on converts and outstations, hospital work, and maps of the CIM field were used for prayer

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[99] Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[100] Interview of Charles Oliver "Dick" Springer by Paul Ericksen, June 19, 1989, Collection 417, T1, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[101] Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

devotionals. Through these materials, supporters of the CIM were encouraged to pray daily for the missionaries and progress of Christianity in China. Even the mobility of the missionary and CIM's work in China was positioned as depending on prayer. By the 1930s, prayer circles associated with the mission society were found in every state except for Wyoming, Louisiana, and Nevada. Conversely, the prayer circles were most densely concentrated around the offices in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Los Angeles. [102]

The last dimension facilitating the spread of the CIM was the deputation work of the U.S. council and home staff, missionaries on furlough, prospective candidates, and visiting personnel from the headquarters in Europe and China. Deputation work, speaking in front of congregations, youth groups, conferences, and voluntary associations, was a critical means of publicity, recruitment, and dissemination of the CIM's agenda. For the society representatives working in the three home offices much of their energy and resources was spent organizing and traveling to speaking engagements. Invitations to speak on behalf of the mission were most often extended to the CIM by evangelical pastors or youth leaders, but also by voluntary associations and women's groups like the Women's Mission Society or the Maybeth Society. Assisting the U.S. Council and home staff in these duties were missionaries on furlough in the U.S. Visiting CIM personnel such as the General Director or members of the Home Councils in the United Kingdom and Australia assisted in deputation work, and even retired workers were called into to visit churches, youth groups, and potential donors to the mission. Cajoling retired missionaries into taking on speaking engagements, the North American Council

[102] Interview of Jennie Kingston Fitzwilliam by Paul Ericksen, June 13, 1984, Collection 272, T1, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

reminded members they were "retired from service not the interests of the mission."[103] The CIM's deputation work in areas surrounding the home centers in the U.S. and Canada was also greatly aided each year by new crops of candidates and prospective missionaries in training. As part of their application and training, the CIM took applicants and missionaries in training around to churches, youth groups, and Sunday schools in Philadelphia, Chicago, Vancouver, and Toronto and surrounding areas.[104]

Meeting the demand for CIM speakers with the Protestant evangelical community of the U.S. required extensive travel. Responsibilities for representing the mission were divided geographically with each center designated a district of several surrounding states to cover. Covering these districts often taxed the staff's resources and energy. Despite the assistance of other CIM personnel, the primary responsibility for responding to invitations to speak about the mission's work fell to the mission secretaries in Philadelphia, Chicago, and Los Angeles. The result was that these officers fulfilled hundreds of speaking engagements a year in a wide number of states, sometimes thousands of miles from the home centers. In North America this necessitated coordinating work across the border between the U.S. and Canada. Canadian members from the Vancouver office often worked conferences and church meetings in Washington, Idaho, Montana, Utah, and Michigan in addition to covering meetings across the Canadian provinces.[105]

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[103] Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[104] Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[105] Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

Exact statistics on the number of speaking engagements are difficult to find in the CIM records. But reports on deputation work in the North American Council's records in 1949 illustrate some of the logistical and financial challenges of this work. For example, over the course of that year the CIM staff in Chicago, just sixteen members working in small teams of two to three members, had over 390 meetings in front of churches and Christian groups in Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Indiana, Michigan, Kansas, and Kentucky. To maximize the financial efficacy of traveling to each engagement CIM speakers typically held meetings two to three times a day before several different audiences at each location. The impact of deputation work is most easily measured in terms of donations. The year's speaking engagements by the Chicago staff amounted to over $56,000 (around $550,000 in today's currency). Considered by the staff to be its best year all around in terms of engagements and donations, this represents not a typical year but the apex of the CIM's influence in the Midwest U.S. No doubt this work was buffeted by the U.S. public's concern with the revolution in China and fate of missions and Chinese Christians. Still, in terms of donations and engagements there is no indication that the year 1949 was a dramatic increase from the other years in the 1940s.[106] Rather, it would seem that the CIM had gradually established an increasingly powerful connection to evangelicals across the Midwest.

While the Eastern District around Philadelphia was characterized as similar in scope and geography to the Chicago Center, the presence of the CIM in the Western U.S. was slightly less impressive but still geographically expansive and financially sound. In that same year, the staff in Los Angeles responded to invitations from evangelicals in

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[106] Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

California, Hawaii, Arizona, Texas, and Utah. And in each year since 1945 the CIM Los Angeles deputation teams had collected over 30,000 a year in donations for the society (around $290,000 a year). Meeting the obligations of deputation work could be exhausting and was a true test of a candidate's determination to be a member of the society. As a candidate for the CIM, Marguerite Owen offered her personal testimony around forty times in a span of forty-two days. Led around by CIM home staff, Owen and the other four members of her candidate cohort spent five weeks traveling outward from Los Angeles to CIM prayer meetings to cites like San Diego or Escondido when not studying Chinese radicals or undergoing interviews with the home center staff.[107] While the North American Council frequently questioned the efficacy of deputation as a recruitment tool, its ability to translate contact with U.S. Protestant churches into substantial financial support was undeniable.[108]

Great efforts were made by the North American Council in the 1930s and 1940s to systematize the deputation work. But the reliance on missionaries on furlough meant that each individual member's hometown and family networks determined the geographic contours of the society's audience in the U.S. as well. Perhaps the most prolific deputation workers during this period were the Owens, Henry and Marguerite, CIM missionaries on leave from China from 1941 to 1947. Relieved from their work in Anhui in the spring of 1941, the couple spent their initial months on furlough visiting Marguerite's family in Texas and Los Angeles and Henry's parents in Montreal. While visiting Henry's parents the Owens were called upon by the mission to accompany Dr.

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[107] Interview of Marguerite Owen by Bob Shuster, June 6, 1997, Collection 534, T2 , Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[108] Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

Page and the General Director, Bishop Stanley Houghton, on a several-month long deputation tour of Protestant churches and conferences in Canada and the U.S. By December of 1941 the Owens were skilled public speakers and travelers accustomed to spending most of their days on buses and trains. By the later stages of the tour a decision was made to send Marguerite home to her family in Los Angeles while Henry continued to represent the mission at conferences in Minneapolis and Winnipeg. But Marguerite's respite from deputation work would be short-lived, following the Japanese attack on the U.S. at Pearl Harbor invitations to the CIM from Protestant communities were greater than ever, especially in California. The Owens, reunited later that month, began a full schedule of deputation work on behalf of the CIM that would keep them busy for most of the war.[109]

Their success and reputation as CIM representatives would lead to Henry's appointment as the mission's Southwest Regional Director and a steady stream of appearances before Christian audiences until their return to Yunnan in 1947. While Marguerite served as the Southwest Mission Home's hostess, managing and maintaining the mission premises in Los Angeles, Henry led teams of furloughed CIM missionaries across California, Nevada, Arizona, Texas, and New Mexico to meet with the mission's prayer support networks and donors. According to Marguerite, "we didn't go anywhere in those days without being invited, because we had more invitations than we could fill anyway." And even within Los Angeles responding to local requests kept her husband as the CIM regional director from having "a free Sunday in 1942, morning or evening."[110]

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[109] Interview of Marguerite Owen by Bob Shuster, May 26, 1998, Collection 534, T6. Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[110] Interview of Marguerite Owen by Bob Shuster, June 6, 1997, Collection 534, T4. Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

The CIM's growth then in both China and the U.S. relied on personnel traveling widely to build nation wide bases of support. Despite the CIM's vast print media in both countries, direct contact with people and Protestant congregations was the touchstone of the CIM approach in the U.S. just as it was in China. Acting as evangelists in the latter and advocates for China's evangelization in the former, by the 1940s the CIM was strategically placed in both countries to forge transnational spiritual, financial, and ideological networks connecting U.S. Protestant evangelicals and Chinese communities.

The Ideological Meanings of Missionary Mobility

During the era of pioneer evangelism, missionary mobility produced a number of ideological meanings for evangelicals in the U.S. and their counterparts in a number of countries. First, the missionary's mobility within the CIM network reflected membership and participation in projects and values that were transnational. Mobility created a complex sense of belonging and identification with the international Christian community. Traveling from the U.S. to join other Protestant Christians from Canada, Great Britain, Europe, Australia, and New Zealand in China reflected the missionary's participation in what scholar Ian Tyrell describes as the Christian moral empire at work in China.[111] What bound these groups together across the international Protestant community was their investment in the CIM's campaigns against sin, superstition, and its promotion of evangelical Christianity. All three of these agendas were seen as forms of "progress," but as Protestant evangelicals they also saw these projects of moral uplift as solutions to China's struggles with issues such as poverty, opium addiction, social disharmony, and political turmoil.

[111] Ian Tyrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire*, (Princeton University Press, 2010)

Binding these groups together was the ethos and identity of the missionary as a pioneer. From the society's beginnings in North America the CIM's reputation as "pioneers" of the missionary movement in the interior of China resonated with U.S. audiences thanks to the popular mythology of the frontier in the American past. No doubt, this greatly appealed to many U.S. members. As Jennie Fitzwilliam recalls, "Nobody wanted to go just to the Chinese cities round about the coast." The "virgin areas" worked by the CIM as she called them had an allure among the missionary movement, especially Tibet. Part of the "glamour" as she referred to it of this work was that CIM members, "lived very primitively but spiritually, it was a luxury."[112] Supporters in the U.S. participated in this "pioneering" through financial donations, and prayer, and a sense of cooperation with Protestants around the globe.

As pioneers, U.S. evangelicals associated missionary mobility with ideas of freedom of movement, being at the forefront of expansion with unlimited access to Chinese civilization. Inside China, the society's pioneering pushed the limits of the missionary's freedom and expanding access in Chinese society. The geographic contours of the CIM's work demonstrated Christianity's right to roam the entirety of China free from interference or restraint. This mobility was also understood as constantly expanding. As one member for the CIM wrote in the 1934 annual report, through the mission's campaigns "unreached towns and villages are constantly being entered." This included

[112] Interview of Jennie Kingston Fitzwilliam by Paul Ericksen, June 13, 1984, Collection 272, T1, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.; Interview of Jennie Kingston Fitzwilliam by Paul Ericksen, July 12, 1984, Collection 272, T3, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

China's most remote regions such as Tibet including various ethnic minorities such as the Lisu and Miao tribes in southern China.[113]

The freedom of the missionary's mobility was conveyed not just by its geographic expanse but also by its social and cultural range. In representations of travel and movement about China, CIM readers learned of China's geography, history, cultural traditions, the language, and various social groups represented in abstract form as farmers, craftsmen, merchants, soldiers, women, and children. Increasingly important in the twentieth century was how mobility forged a sense of knowing and contact with Chinese Protestants and churches, both in their abstract and individualized forms. The geography of China was represented as areas "reached" or "touched" by Christianity and those "untouched" or "unevangelized." The language reinforced ideas about the missionary's contact as the driving force of change in Chinese society. The imperative to pray for these things, promoted by prayer calendars and directories, created a sense of spiritual contact and communion with diverse groups such as Chinese youth, geographical areas like the province of Sichuan, or social and political movements such as the Guomindang and the New Life Campaign. Through contact and its representation, the missionary's mobility created expectations about these groups and places as targets of the missionary's progress.

Secondly, as the majority of Protestant missions shifted toward the Social Gospel in the twentieth century and emphasized social reform and modernization in China, pioneer evangelism became essential to the ethos and identity of Protestant evangelical. As evangelicals, CIM members cited scripture as the basis for the society's methods of

[113] Annual Report of the China Inland Mission, "In Season and Out of Season," (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 17-18.

evangelism and motivations. Passages such Mark 16:15, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," served as the basis for the society's drive to be endlessly mobile and expanding in its search for new audiences the Gospel.[114] Metaphors comparing CIM missionaries to forms of transportation cemented the importance of movement to the society's concept of evangelicalism. For example, the foreword to the society's annual report in 1934, *In Season and Out of Season* stated that the cover's life-boat "cruising up and down in dangerous waters….engaged continually in the task of saving life," was "a fitting emblem of the evangelist who is willing to spend and be spent in rescuing those who must otherwise perish." These practices of movement and ideas about movement as an expression of faith were hallmarks of the evangelicalism binding together groups in the U.S. with those in Canada, Great Britain, Europe, and Australia. [115]

Missionary mobility then reflected the CIM's belief that "progress" was defined primarily in spiritual terms. The key to China's salvation lay in Chinese conversion, not just to Christianity but also to an evangelical lifestyle characterized by piety, bible study, and proselytizing. The CIM also measured progress by campaigns against "superstition" which included attacks on Chinese folk religions, Islam, Buddhism, Daoism, and a whole host of other conventional Chinese practices and beliefs. Spiritual progress was also marked by the mission's institutional spread and geographic expanse. CIM directories published annually were organized by province with a date noting the year the society began working in the region. Underneath the provincial name and date were lists and statistics on the total square miles of the province, the number of missionaries working in

[114] Lawrence J. Peet, "Editorial," *China's Millions*, January 1947.
[115] Katherine E. Kreick, "The Iron Did Swim," *China's Millions,* November 1945.

the region, stations and out-stations, and Chinese-workers.[116] Quite literally, the missionary's mobility mapped, geographically but socially and culturally as well, the borders of the moral Christian empire's penetration of Chinese society.

Not surprisingly, CIM members expressed a pioneer's ambivalence about China's transformation in the twentieth century from "frontier" or "heathen nation" to modern nation-state. For example, Dr. Robert Glover of the CIM US Council proclaimed in the late 1920s that "The China of thirty or even twenty years ago is no more, and the whole country and the people are taking on a completely new aspect. Western goods and western ideas are being more and more adopted." While this impact had once been largely limited to the southern and coastal provinces, Glover stated that China's inland travel was in the process of being revolutionized as highways were built to connect villages to provincial capitals and within cities "old narrow streets converted into broad, well-paved thoroughfares lined with handsome stores displaying all kinds of western goods. Many a venerable city wall has been leveled and turned into a boulevard for motor vehicles." These improvements led Glover to conclude that "Indeed, it can only be a very short time until overland travel throughout that vast country will be completely revolutionized—a prospect which has its very obvious bearing upon missionary work."[117] China's modernization was seen as creating greater opportunities for the missionary and technology a boon to evangelizing society.

This theme was echoed in the annual report later in 1934 which measured China's improving roadways and transportation services as increasing the rapidity with which evangelical Christianity was carried throughout society. The report mentioned that buses

[116] Annual Report of the China Inland Mission, "In Season and Out of Season," (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 11.
[117] Dr. Robert Glover, "The Changed and Unchanged in China," (1934)

were now traveling from Chongqing to Chengdu in just two days, formerly a journey completed in ten days by sedan chair or a month by boat. Airplanes were becoming common in Nanjing, motor road mileage "had quadrupled since 1929," and plans for highways between Shanghai and Guizhou and railroads in Shansi were "important signs of progress." The author declared, "little imagination is required to envisage the possibilities of these new roads and railways. Even if in many cases they are originally constructed to facilitate warlike operations….they may also become highways for the messengers of the PRINCE OF PEACE."[118]The image of the missionary and donkey on the CIM's prayer pamphlets of the 1920s was quickly being replaced by visions of missionaries on trains, plains, and automobiles.

Conversely, Glover was ambivalent about the impact these changes would have on Chinese society. Along those new roads Glover saw flow "new dress, new etiquette, new social and moral ideas, new commerce, new industry, and new education" and "Queue discarded, foot-binding condemned, torture of prisoners on trial forbidden, in some districts even idols thrown aside and temples renovated and converted into schools or lecture halls, and their grounds into public recreation parks." But he also saw new forms of sin and vice in the form of "foreign rum, narcotics, cigarettes, harlotry" He was also particularly worried about atheism's growing popularity with Chinese readers. He challenged evangelicals in the U.S. to put China's modernizing transportation services and infrastructure to use to ensure that these "emissaries" of sin did not circulate faster and with greater impact in society than the missionary. Glover warned that without the missionary's evangelism these changes would only lead to "civilized

[118] Annual Report of the China Inland Mission, "In Season and Out of Season," (Philadelphia, 1934)

heathenism."[119]Thus, the CIM did not equate transportation, technology, and modern forms of movement with "progress" rather they were excited by the ways in which they could be potential tools for evangelism or enhance the missionary's mobility.

The association of the CIM missionary with the pioneer in the U.S. appropriated many of the ideational meanings of the frontier mythology such as conquest and expansionism, democracy, individualism, and flexibility. Through their references to the pioneer/frontier the CIM benefitted through the appropriation of the lessons of the U.S. mythology of the frontier in American history and simultaneously flexed their meanings and interpretative value. The missionary's movement then suggested the expansion of American political values into the Chinese interior but also that these ideals were Christian and international as well, making China a "frontier" that was not singularly American, but rather a shared project of the Christian moral empire.

Most importantly labeling the missionary a "pioneer" built into representations of the missionary's mobility a sense of conquest and triumph over his or her surroundings. The notion that China was a dangerous place to move about was critical to the missionary's experience of movement in China. For example, Frank H. Meller's account of his itinerancy in Sichuan lists a few of the problems missionaries encountered, "we were attacked at times by such enemies as bugs, burglars, bandits, and bombs, as well as disease, discouragement, and the devil, but God, who permits all for our good, brought us through."[120] And during the era of pioneer evangelism there were innumerable forces identified by the CIM as opposing the missionary's mobility from delays and breakdowns in transportation, violent opposition from nationalist students or communist soldiers, and

[119] Dr. Robert Glover, "The Changed and Unchanged in China," (Philadelphia, China Inland Mission, 1934)
[120] Frank H. Meller, "Testimony of Frank H. Meller," *China's Millions*, March 1946.

hazardous weather and travel conditions. Members of the CIM understood overcoming obstacles in the missionary's path from A to B, both minor and potentially violent, as a matter of divine intervention. For instance, C. Virgil Hook wrote of journeys in Qinghai in such a way "Snow on the mountains and heavy mud impeded my progress so much that I was not able to make the journey to Hwalung in one day. Rather than stop over in the usual place, I looked for Tibetans in each village as I passed, I prayed the Lord to guide, and He did." All along Hook's travel he stressed that his lodging, hospitality by Chinese hosts, and receptiveness of audiences was made possible by God.[121]

This belief in divine sovereignty as expressed by the missionary's mobility was more than just ideological belief it colored the experience of movement by CIM members. Fitzwilliam's account of her feelings passing through China just after the events of the Northern Expedition reveals her faith in divine assistance, "we were the first to leave because we could go around and come in the back door of China…I don't remember that we lived in fear and trembling. We were not uneasy about the situation because we knew the Lord was in control and in His own way. We didn't feel that the Lord had taken us out there just to send us home again." Thus, divine sovereignty was felt emotionally, psychologically, and spiritually through movement, and the exercise of missionary mobility was evidence of God's will and intercession in the world.

In the eyes of U.S. evangelicals, this sense that the missionary mobility reflected divine sovereignty and also the missionary's own deeply felt love for the Chinese helped disassociate the missionary movement from imperialism. The CIM was more than aware of the controversial aspects of missionary mobility and presence in Chinese. And how

[121] C. Virgil Hook, "I Magnify Mine Office," *China's Millions,* February 1946.

could they not be? Occupying interior provinces had not gone uncontested in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as the CIM was exposed to violence and hostility from various groups in China from Confucian literati to Boxers to Guomindang to the Chinese Communist Party. The exercise of the missionary's extraterritorial rights had also been the subject of frequent protest especially by college students in the 1920s and 1930s. For many Chinese, the missionary's mobility was most often associated with the "gunboats" of western powers and equated with China's humiliation and degradation. Increasingly, voices from within Chinese Christianity in the 1930s suggested the dominance and exploitation perpetrated by Protestant missions through the symbol of the missionary perched upon the sedan chair carried by Chinese servants.[122]

That the missionary's mobility signified foreign humiliation was not lost on the mission. As noted by CIM representative Frank Houghton in his 1936 book *China Calling* stated the "circumstances," which led to extraterritorial rights "though they then appeared providential" in actuality generated hostility toward and resistance toward missions and were in fact "singularly unfortunate as we look back upon them to-day."[123] And yet, like many CIM members he excused both the mission movement as well as U.S. and British governments from abusing their extraterritoriality rights, describing the missionary's penetration of the interior thusly, "the missionary, but because his courage and energy carried him to districts where popular prejudices stirred antagonism to him and to his message, and, quite apart from any appeal on his part, the consular authorities felt responsible to protect him." As an institution the CIM described the "circumstances"

[122] Lian Xi, *Redeemed By Fire: The Rise of Popular Christianity in Modern China*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 145.
[123]Frank Houghton, *China Calling*, (London: Camelot Press, 1936), p. 110.

generating the missionary mobility's as the result of imperialism, but the missionary's exercise of this movement a matter of "courage and energy."[124]

Overall, missioanry mobility signified a complex series of ideas about the missionary's relationship to the Chinese. It is obvious that the movement of missionaries in China created a sense of "foreignness" and notions of difference with the Chinese. Eric Reinders excellent book *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion* lists a host of ways in which foreign missionaries expressed and experienced their "foreignness" via the senses and the body which produced prejudicial and racist ideas about the Chinese.[125] The CIM missionaries were no different. No matter the context, representations of the Chinese as "barbaric," "heathen," and "backward" are prevalent throughout the mission's publications and representations. In addition, looking at the CIM publications and records it is clear that many of these ideas about China were experienced through movement.

Through moving and evangelizing in China missionaries experienced ideas about difference and their own inherent sense of superiority that created and reproduced racial stereotypes. In contrast to the meanings associated with the missionary such as the advance of civilization or dynamic forces of change then Chinese mobility became its "Other" and was associated with ideas about stagnation and backwardness. Juxtaposed against pictures of the free roaming CIM missionary were images of Chinese "enslaved" by "sin and superstition." Descriptions of Chinese folk festivals or religious processions by Buddhists spoke of these groups as in "bondage" or steeped in "heathenism." The

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[124] Frank Houghton, *China Calling*, (London: Camelot Press, 1936), p. 110.
[125] Eric Reinders, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004)

CIM often compared the dynamism and modernity of the missionary's mobility to transportation such as the bicycle, automobile, or airplane. Chinese mobility drew comparisons to primitive animals such as yaks or modes of transportation such as the rickshaw that were labor intensive and associated with ideas of servitude. Travel accounts by CIM missionaries on the nation's trains, buses, or steamships spoke of Chinese travelers engaging in "bizarre" social customs often implying that new forms of technological mobility failed to have the same "modernizing" effects as they had on westerners. Thus, even though the CIM endeavored to identify through mobility, the CIM missionary understood "becoming Chinese" as devolving to level of Chinese not meeting them as equals.

These notions about the differences between the mobility of Chinese and of westerners were perpetuated by Chinese voices as well. In the early twentieth century, the formidable Liang Qichao's *Observations on a Trip to America* made a number of observations on the physical differences of Western and Oriental as well as their mobility. Liang wrote, "When westerners walk their bodies are erect and their heads up. We Chinese bow at one command, stoop at a second, and prostrate ourselves at a third." Similarly, he contrasted the "hurried," purposeful, cleanly, and orderly movement of westerners moving about U.S. cities with Chinese who "walk leisurely and elegantly, full of pomp and ritual—they are truly ridiculous." The notions that were fundamental differences in the ways that westerners and Orientals moved and Liang's comments were intended to illustrate the incompatibility of China with such American ideals as freedom, constitutionalism, and democracy. In doing so, Liang perpetuated notions about Chinese immigrants being inassimilable in American society, referring to their habits on

sidewalks or in passenger cars as proof they were "messy and filthy citizens, no wonder they are despised."[126]

What is striking, however, is how much the movements of missionaries were intended to signify belonging and identification with China and the Chinese. This was expressed by the missionary's movement to China created by the idea of a deeply felt spiritual calling to the Chinese. Secondly, upon entering the field, the CIM missionary was supposed to shed the visible signifiers of difference in terms of dress and social etiquette divided the foreigner and Chinese. In the nineteenth century, Taylor had famously championed the adoption of Chinese dress, lifestyle, and diet of local communities the missionary inhabited, going so far as to fashion himself a queue. Shocking to some Christian statesman and clergy at first, overtime, this institutional philosophy garnered the CIM a favorable reputation in comparison to other societies who were criticized for living an opulent and comfortable lifestyle far removed from their local communities. Within the CIM members such as Fitzwilliam recalls missionaries such as James Fraser were "just all out for being Chinese," and many members were enthusiastic about living a "real Chinese life." [127]

"Being Chinese" was also very much a matter of movement. Like dress and language, traveling and moving as the Chinese was a key signifier of the society's spiritual attachment and identification with their local communities. By the twentieth century, the society's commitment to "pioneering" inland also bespoke identification with marginalized groups in Chinese society. By the 1940s the U.S. Council explained

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[126] Liang Qichao, "Excerpt from *Observations on a Trip to America*," from *Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook*, edited by Patricia Buckley, 2nd Edition, (New York: The Free Press, 1993): p. 335-340.
[127] Interview of Jennie Kingston Fitzwilliam by Paul Ericksen, July 12, 1984, Collection 272, T3, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

the mission's endeavor within the inland provinces as a decision to "throw in our lot with the socially humble and financially poor, if only we could maintain spiritual and scriptural integrity."[128] Indeed, many of the CIM's converts came from groups considered among China's "humble" and "poor" including many rural women, the elderly and ill, and ethnic or religious minority groups. Further, stories of travel expressed the CIM's commitment to lifestyles and movements according to the customs of their Chinese neighbors. For example, Ralph Tolliver's "On a Yangtze Steamer" depicted the American missionary's ride in a single class boat with all walks of Chinese society. Aboard the ship, Tolliver traveled in cramped quarters among his fellow travelers, sleeping on rugs or sheets laid along the floor of the ship in an area barely big enough for him to lie.[129] Through travel accounts CIM members expressed a sense of fraternity and identification with local Chinese experienced in movement. Many representations of the missionary's mobility by CIM members demonstrated the society's effort to identify with the Chinese by moving and traveling as Chinese did.

In fact, representations of missionary mobility stressed that movement demonstrated deep love and spiritual concern for Chinese. Through enduring hardship and physical exertion, the missionary expressed their spiritual equality with Chinese and great love and concern for China. The actual experience of covering the districts for which CIM members were responsible could indeed be quite trying spiritually, emotionally, and physically. CIM missionaries on their itineration routes from the provincial centers to the more rural churches commonly reached up to 170 miles, most of

[128] Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[129] Frank Tolliver, "On a Yangtze Steamer," *China's Millions*, 1945.

it completed by walking or on bicycle.[130] Treks could be much longer and expose the missionary to discomforts ranging from physical violence to the more trivial annoyance with delays or detour. In Ningxia, the CIM representative H.H.E. Knight covered over 700 miles by bicycle just to contact the eight churches under his jurisdiction.[131]

The great distances described in CIM publications, the hazardous weather and conditions of movement, and references to the danger of banditry or violence all accentuated the idea of the missionary's love and commitment. In an article for *China's Millions,* a female member described her work in Sichuan as "A Gypsy Life," stating "for the past two years we have been leading gypsy life having not settled home but traveling around, trying to help the scattered-country Christians who so badly need instruction."[132] Frequently, CIM members alluded to these difficulties, including social and cultural differences experienced while traveling, as a matter of love and spiritual opportunity, and suggested that their endurance demonstrated the great determination and affection of missionary's for the Chinese.

Hazel Waller's account of her trip to Hwaining in 1947 illustrates many of these meanings. Waller described for U.S. readers her trip aboard a boat where Chinese laid on "dirty mattresses all over the deck," and she and her two female companions had been expected to share a room with two men. Further, the women had slept with their clothes on for several days on the journey because "men frequently opened the door to look at us and the place was too dirty anyway to try to be comfortable." Not to mention that each night she recounted "huge rats visited us and the number increased each night," to the point that Waller was forced to try and kill many using her shoes, "Can you picture me

[130] H.G. Cliff, "Itinerating," *China's Millions*, June 1944.
[131] H.H.E. Knight, "Journey Through Ningsia," *China's Millions,* March 1946.
[132] Mrs. H. W Simonds, "A Gypsy Life," *China's Millions,* March 1945.

sitting at the foot of my cot beating rats down with my shoes," she asked evangelicals back in the U.S. On the other hand, her journey had left her elated, "my joy in being here is almost inexpressible. How foolish my feelings of reluctance to leave the States now seem."[133] CIM publications played up the missionary's adaptability and yearning to connect with Chinese, fitting their identities as pioneers, by highlighting experiences that home audiences would find bizarre and threatening.

Simultaneously, then, movement cultivated a sense of superiority to the Chinese among missionaries and their supporters. In the story of the Yangtze steamer, Tolliver had described his meal with passengers thusly, "around the rice the people squat on haunches or sit on hastily-crumpled bedding, eating like primitive man, except that chopsticks replace fingers."[134] In Tolliver's account traveling as Chinese did meant devolving to the level of natives. In many other instances CIM members expressed derision and disgust with the accommodations and circumstances of travel in China. It may be safer to say that through movement CIM missionaries expressed a sense of belonging and identification with Chinese society but also contributed to its imagined exoticism.

Missionary representations of travel and movement built associations between Chinese mobility with irrationality, disorder, filth, and anti-modernism. Since the nineteenth century, Chinese mobility in the U.S. had been associated with immorality and viewed as a threat to American values.[135] Similar associations were prevalent in CIM publications. Complaints about the quality, reliability, cleanliness or sophistication of

[133] Hazel Waller, "Editorial," *China's Millions*, April 1945.
[134] Frank Tolliver, "On a Yangtze Steamer," *China's Millions*, 1945.
[135] Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World,* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p.182

travel and transportation are ubiquitous in CIM publications and missionary letters. So are allusions to the absurdity of Chinese customs and social habits aboard boats, cars, and other forms of transportation. Additionally, the freedom of the missionary often found meaning in contrast to the image of the Chinese as "bound up in sin and superstition." In these ways, these themes reified a host of prejudicial and discriminatory ideas associated with Chinese mobility.

What about the mobility of Chinese Christians and evangelists? For example, CIM audiences were told of the efforts of Chinese evangelist David Chow in the mid-1930s in terms similar to those of the CIM missionaries. In 1934 Chow had left "home and loved ones…to launch out by faith as a missionary to far-away Kokohnor," where his preaching wrought "confession of sin and restitution, cleansing through the blood, the new life in CHRIST and the filling of the SPIRIT" led to "unconverted heathen" to convert and Chinese Protestants to revival.[136] Similar stories of groups such as the Bethel Band and CIM books like *Pastor Hsieh: A Wayfarer for Christ* were lauded for "travelling throughout China from end to end" spreading the gospel. With greater frequency in the twentieth century Chinese evangelicals were featured in CIM publications and the subject of praise.[137]

However, the CIM could be equally damning in its rejection of Chinese evangelists as false prophets. Reports from the field in 1934 told U.S. supporters, "as the fire of revival spread from heart to heart, and province, it is not surprising that the enemy…produces his counterfeit." Frequently, in the 1930s and 1940s the society charged wholly independent Chinese Christian communities such as the True Jesus

[136] Annual Report of the China Inland Mission, "In Season and Out of Season," (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 26.
[137] Annual Report of the China Inland Mission, "In Season and Out of Season," (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 25-26.

Church with being "counterfeits" or "pseudo-spiritual" and blamed these groups with causing social conflict, splitting congregations, and promoting heresy.[138] The movement of Chinese Christians could be just as easily identified with the spread of heresy and groups or figures functioning independently of Protestant mission networks were frequently suspect.

This no doubt reflected that despite persistent CIM declarations of spiritual equality and praise for Chinese evangelicals pervasive fears existed about the sincerity of Chinese Christians. Racial stereotypes about Chinese as effeminate, idolatrous, and duplicitous forced Chinese Christians to undergo an elaborate set of examinations and rituals to prove their knowledge of Christian doctrine and their commitment to Protestant values and lifestyle.[139] Examination and surveillance of Chinese Christians was meant to verify sincerity in conversion, which according to scholar Webb Keane, is the lynchpin of Protestant modernity and identity in western countries like the U.S. and Great Britain. But sincerity as understood by western Protestants is a subjectivity performed through a linguistic style of speech and self-expression specific to English, individualism, and a self-understood "modern" subjectivity.[140]

Thus, representations of the missionary's mobility also implied its function as form of surveillance and safeguarding Christianity. The absence of missionaries from Chinese Christian congregations was equated with the potential for backsliding. As one CIM writer wrote in 1934, "because of our adversary the devil….the occupation of new

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[138] Annual Report of the China Inland Mission, "In Season and Out of Season," (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 30
[139] Eric Reinders, *Borrowed Gods and Foreign Bodies: Christian Missionaries Imagine Chinese Religion* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004)
[140] Webb Keane, "Sincerity, 'Modernity,' and the Protestants," *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (February 2002), p. 67-78.

territory is invariably challenged by a counter-attack."[141] Declension among Chinese Christian churches in the absence of missionaries was a constant fear of the CIM. The annual report in 1934 relayed the report of a CIM member who had seen "startling and tragic backsliding of several well-known Christians." In areas without a CIM presence the report suggested that without guidance from the missionary there existed "a sad lack of freshness and arresting power in the message, and the church seems to be making little impression on the not too friendly indifference of this large heathen city" while in another he witnessed "a church that goes to all lengths of compromise rather than give offence to the heathen society in which its is placed." He had also seen in other cities "division and jealously amongst the Christians." And the report stressed in general there was widespread "revival of idolatry."[142] The mobility of the CIM was not just about forging "progress" but preserving the integrity of Protestantism, making Chinese Christians less the equal of the missionary and more so their "ward" to be watched over.

During the era of pioneer evangelism, these meanings produced by missionary mobility were colored by a regime of movement that both empowered and problematized the Protestant endeavor in Chinese society and the exclusion of Chinese from missions like the CIM. Following the end of the Second Opium War, the movement of missionaries anywhere in China was sanctioned and protected by both the Chinese central authority and western powers. Not only were physical safety and a right to proselytize guaranteed, but extraterritorial rights granted foreigner's privileges which allowed them to avoid penalty or imprisonment by Chinese government. Thus, before 1949 Chinese

[141] Annual Report of the China Inland Mission, "In Season and Out of Season," (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 9
[142] Annual Report of the China Inland Mission, "In Season and Out of Season," (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 30

officials were by and large only able to confer privileges upon the missionary mobility and guarantee its protection, not set its limits.[143]

These privileges of the missionary's mobility defied the traditional control and regulation of religion by imperial dynasties in China. Additionally, such mobility, especially by foreigners, ran counter to political trends among modern nation-states in the rest of the world. During the twentieth century, governmental control over the movements of persons within borders became one of the most basic conventions of the modern-nation state through the creation of identity documents such as visas and passports, checkpoints, and the codification of laws regulating the movement of persons into and out of territories and particular spaces.[144] And scholar Tim Cresswell has shown the "development of a worldwide system for producing and limiting mobilities on a global scale," was initiated in the U.S. with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 due to a prevalent racial discourse which equated the immigration of Chinese "alien, inassimilable, uncivil, immoral, and unhealthy" movement of peoples in American society.[145] While racist notions necessitating such restrictions have been contested through the world, in general, the state's right to a monopoly on regulating the flow of persons, especially non-citizens, within their borders has by and large been accepted as a "natural" form of modern government.

This tension inherent to the missionary's mobility in China was at the heart of later debates about the role of foreign missionaries in society. While it was "natural" for

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[143] John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), p. 200, 203-204, 222, 265.
[144] John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
[145] Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World,* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p.186.

governments to license and control the movement of foreigners within national borders, Protestant missions could simultaneously view it as an obstruction of religious freedom to limit the movement of religious persons such as the missionary. Missionary mobility signified freedom of movement and when engaged in propagating the Gospel it was associated with the idea of freedom of expression. What is more is that the missionary signified the ability to take rights across borders. In essence, the missionary's mobility reflected the most controversial and problematic aspect of the conflict between sovereignty and human rights in the twentieth century: the question of whether or not certain rights are beyond the purview of the sovereign state.[146] Thus, in China, the missionary's mobility marked the unequal political relationship between China and the international community and was freighted with notions of cultural, racial, and spiritual difference between Protestant Christians in western countries and the Chinese. Missionary mobility was also loaded with ideas about freedom and rights and foreign dominance and subversion, and spoke to the sense that foreigner's enjoyed complete and unlimited access to Chinese civilization as a right.

In this respect, the missionary's mobility won by imperialism and guaranteed by various Chinese regimes was a step in the direction of globalizing human rights since certain rights concerning movement and religion were made immune to national sovereignty. However, these developments had the added effect of racializing mobility. Due to these developments the missionary's mobility was not so much a matter of their humanity as their "whiteness." The fact that in the U.S. and then later Canada and Australia the mobility of Chinese was met by governmental and societal efforts to restrict

[146]Jay Winter, *Dreams of Peace, Dreams of Freedom: Utopian Moments in the Twentieth Century* (Yale University Press, 2006)

and prohibit the movement of Chinese while simultaneously missionaries from these same countries claimed the right to movement immune from a Chinese sovereignty ultimately created notions about mobility rooted in race. The privilege of unrestricted mobility became associated with "whiteness" and its immunity from control or regulation by non-white regimes and the right of governments to limit or prohibit the movement of foreign groups associated with Chinese.

This color line created by the mobility of missionaries was further reinforced by the exclusion of Chinese and Chinese-Americans from membership in missions like the CIM. The meanings created by the dichotomy between the missionary's mobility in China and that of Chinese in western countries like the U.S. was reified by the society's membership and definition of Christian internationalism. Although the mission promoted itself as an international and interdenominational mission society, the CIM excluded all non-whites from membership including Chinese and Chinese-Americans as missionaries. In regards to Chinese, the CIM stated that all Chinese evangelists and Christians workers were the priority of the native Chinese church according to the principles of the three-selfs. Chinese Christians, although many times employed as evangelists or spiritual workers, were not eligible to be members as missionaries, and their employment was always temporary since according to the principles of an indigenous church Chinese Protestants were considered the responsibility of the native church.[147] Thus, officially the CIM justified the exclusion of Chinese on the basis they were endeavoring to protect the spiritual sovereignty of Chinese churches to raise missionaries and propagate the faith as their right as fellow Christians.

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[147] China Inland Mission *Handbook: Principles and Practices of the China Inland Mission* (1938), Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

The exclusion of all non-whites in countries like the U.S., including Chinese-Americans, from joining the CIM, however, revealed the society's belief that Chinese were neither citizens of the respective countries they inhabited like the U.S. or the international body of Protestant Christianity. Rather, all Chinese everywhere were bound by race to China and the Chinese churches, and, thus, ineligible as individuals to join the mission. This segregation of Chinese from the rest of Protestant Christianity was by reinforced by the society's rules on marriage and adoption as the society prohibited the intermarriage of Chinese and foreign missionaries, or their adoption of Chinese children.[148] Excluding Chinese and Chinese-Americans from membership in missions like the CIM amplified ideas about the Chinese as "unassimilable" in the U.S. or with the international Protestant community, and strengthened the sense of shared whiteness enjoyed by members of the CIM from different countries and socio-economic backgrounds.

Pervasive fears about the sincerity of Chinese Christians' faith coupled with the exclusion of Chinese from membership in the mission denied the mobility of Chinese Christians an ideological position equal to that of missionaries, at least in the eyes of Protestants in the U.S. While Chinese could be missionaries and evangelists, they could not make the same claims that contemporaries from the U.S., Canada, Great Britain, Australia, and New Zealand could to represent the international body of Christianity. Nor was their movement equated with such values as freedom, individualism, and evangelicalism. This key fact about the missionary's mobility shaped the relationship between the international Christian community, reflecting clear lines marked by race

[148] China Inland Mission *Handbook: Principles and Practices of the China Inland Mission* (1938), Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission) - Collection 215, Billy Graham Center Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

between areas and populations of the world that were the source of progress and those that were the target. While spiritual equality was stressed often and political equality with greater frequency, representations of mobility reserved for white, foreign missionaries certain values and meanings not associated with Chinese Protestants.

Therefore, several key messages were laden within the missionary's mobility in the decades leading up to the CIM's last decade of work in China. The first was that the missionary's mobility was bound up with the idea of its transformative power to create and spread progress through movement. Secondly, missionary mobility symbolized a host of values that resonated powerfully with U.S. Protestant evangelicals such as freedom, individualism, evangelicalism, and divine sovereignty that were given boundless access to the Chinese. Further, missionary mobility was represented as exceptional in way that Americans truly desired since it was exempted from imperialist attitudes by the ways in which movement was intended to demonstrate love, commitment, and spiritual concern with the Chinese. Conversely, movement also signified a number of paternalistic attitudes toward the Chinese marking them through movement as inferior and sites for expansion. Further, mobility communicated that the absence of missionaries brought with it the threat of declension and justified surveillance and examination of Chinese Christians.

Lastly, the exclusion of Chinese on the basis of race from sharing in the ideological meanings of the missionary's mobility reinforced pervasive associations about white mobility as progressive and free while Chinese mobility was suspect in numerous ways. However, the course of the Asia-Pacific War both the practices of movement and the ideology bound up in pioneer evangelism became untenable. By 1943, the CIM would announce the era of the pioneer evangelism was complete as the society

announced that a “New China” and a new philosophy of mission work and evangelism was underway.

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Chapter 2

Moving through "Open Doors": Postwar Planning and the Indigenous Church, 1943-1949

Introduction

James H. Kane was among the most optimistic of the returning CIM missionaries ready to re-enter China in the postwar period. A Canadian citizen, Kane had felt the call to be a China missionary as a young man after listening to sermons from missionaries on furlough and reading China Inland Mission publications such as *China's Millions* and *Life and Work of Hudson Taylor*. In the 1930s, he moved to the United States to attend Moody Bible Institute where he remained in close contact with the Chicago branch of the CIM. Shortly after graduating, Kane departed for China as a CIM junior missionary in 1935. He spent much of the late 1930s and early 1940s traveling among the CIM-affiliated churches of Anhui province. Due to the Asia-Pacific War, he and his wife Winnifred remained in China long past his expected furlough. Only in late 1944 was Kane able to travel back to North America via India.[149]

Despite the short rest he was eager in 1945 to return to reconnect with the churches and evangelists of Anhui. When the news of the end war reached him, Kane remembered being overjoyed "we all sang the doxology. We say, 'We're going back to China to start and build again the things that were destroyed.'" The situation might have looked bleaker if it did not also appear to many missionaries as a matter of history repeating. Kane expected to do as members of the CIM had done in 1898, 1911, and 1927, "the storm blew over, missionaries went back, picked up the pieces, put them

[149] Collection 182, #T1. Interview of James Herbert Kane by Galen R. Wilson, 1982.

together, and carried on our business as usual."[150] CIM publications such as the society's 1945 book *Rising Tide: The Story of the Year* echoed his sentiments, comparing the missionary's return to China to the inevitability of the rising waters of the Yangtze River in the spring.[151] To Kane there was a cyclical nature to the missionary's withdrawal and entry into China following political and social turmoil that was defined by God's divine providence; a retreats by the China missionary always led to a greater advance upon their return.

But this time expectations were buoyed by confidence in China's postwar future, and Kane was eager to play a part in the nation's recovery. As he left for Shanghai from San Francisco for his second tour with the CIM in the fall of 1946 over four hundred other missionaries accompanied him aboard the ship *Marine Links*. It was perhaps the largest number of missionaries bound for China on a single vessel in history. Kane and his compatriots had "high hopes and great expectations" because "it's gonna be peace, and the peace will lead to prosperity. And Chiang Kai-Shek has won the war, and they're moving in the right direction, and democracy will be gradually introduced."[152] For Kane and many of his colleagues in the CIM the missionaries' re-entry signaled the return of critical resources for China's path toward peace, prosperity, and the movement toward democracy.

Indeed, most of the Protestant missionary movement was optimistic about the future of their work, the development of Chinese Christianity, and relations with the GMD, in part because the war had led to the end of the unequal treaties between China and the Allied Powers. According to scholar Oi Ki Ling, a minority of missionaries

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[150] Collection 182, #T3. Interview of James Herbert Kane by Craig Alexander, 1987.
[151] China Inland Mission, *Rising Tide: The Story of the Year* (Philadelphia: China Inland Mission, 1946)
[152] Collection 182, #T3. Interview of James Herbert Kane by Craig Alexander, 1987.

feared that the GMD's efforts to assert more governmental authority in areas such as education and the rising nationalism and anti-imperialist rhetoric of even Chinese Christians signaled a move to liberate Christianity in China from missionary dominance. The majority of Protestant missions, however, saw the GMD's position as "favorable" and interpreted a number of actions by the government and leading Chinese Christians as signals that "their 'imperialist' stigma had now gone for good and that the abolition of the extraterritoriality would mean a wiping clean of the slate."[153] Before the end of the war, Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-Shek) before an audience of the National Christian Council declared the missionary welcome in postwar China, and the government appeared to leave open avenues for missionary work in medicine, education, public health, relief and humanitarian services, but also opportunities to engage in proselytizing and evangelism.[154]

The postwar reality of mission work turned out to be far less opportune and infinitely more complex than Kane originally thought. In part because Kane was not returning to the field as a "pioneer," but rather as an ally of the indigenous Chinese churches. Responding to rising Chinese nationalism, the end of extraterritoriality rights, and new challenges to the missionary's place in society, the CIM launched a renewed campaign for indigenization and declared the era of pioneer evangelism over.

Studying the CIM's program of indigenization and the missionary's place within these programs reveals the material and ideological investment of Protestant evangelicals in China's postwar state building and sovereignty. Many scholars have suggested the

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153 Oi Ki Ling, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), p. 59.
154 Oi Ki Ling, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), p. 52-57.

ways in which postwar debates in the U.S. about emerging Asian nations were invariably shaped by the discourses of race, nationalism, and expansionism. For instance, Odd Arne Westad has pointed to the prevalence of ideas within the traditional concepts of U.S. foreign policy about the obligations to provide *guidance* for non-white *wards* in their exercise of autonomy and modernity.[155]And recently Sarah Ruble's *The Gospel of Freedom and Power: Protestant Missionaries in American Culture After World War II* shows that the figure of the missionary served as a symbol of U.S expansion and power. According to Ruble U.S. public debates after 1945 about the missionary reflected an "American paradox" in which critics and supporters of U.S. foreign policy alike believed in "freedom for all but with Americans as arbiters of how others should use their freedom."[156] Both scholars allude to the desire of Americans to facilitate the autonomy and freedom of foreign groups, but also their urge to determine the evolution of these expressions.

This chapter then explores the shift in CIM mission work under the policies and strategies launched in 1943 analyzing the reimagining of the meanings found in the movement of missionaries in New China by explaining the ways in which the Asia Pacific War and rising Chinese nationalism led to the end of pioneer evangelism. Secondly, this chapter discusses the changes in missionary work initiated by the CIM in 1943 and its intended ideological meanings to promote recognition of Chinese

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[155] Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War,* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 22-23.
[156]According to Ruble, "Although not all conversations about missionaries referenced American power in the world explicitly, that power framed them. Missionaries, their supporters, the interpreters, and their critics lived in a world shaped by U.S. power and were implicated by it." I take this to mean in the case of the CIM that U.S. evangelicals could understand the postwar world as shaped by American power, but with the missionary a symbol of how this power advance internationalism, not just national interests and values. Sarah Ruble, *The Gospel of Freedom and Power: Protestant Missionaries in American Culture After World War II* (Chapel Hill, N.C: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), p. 2-5.

sovereignty and equality. Lastly, the chapter considers how the language of "open doors" changed the meanings of missionary mobility during this era.

Newly elected General Director Frank Houghton and the China Council approved the decisive shift in mission practices and ideology away from pioneer evangelism in October of 1943 in Chongqing. Not surprisingly, Houghton used tropes of mobility to frame the Council's decision to embark on a new era. In the *China's Million* article "The Pattern Shown," he stated, "We have emerged, as it were, from jungle country, in which we could scarcely see a step ahead, on to an open clearing, above the level plain. There is a road on ahead—not an easy road, but it leads straight from the point where we are standing until it loses itself in the dim distance. God has shown us that this is the road by which we are to travel, and the chart is in our hands."[157] The days of "pioneering work," in "jungle country" as it were was at an end and so too the leadership was in the process of phasing out the strategies and ideology of pioneer evangelism.[158]

From 1943 until 1949, Houghton and the China Council led the society in launching indigenization as a means to resolve many of the problems surrounding the missionary's return to China, including its postwar relationships with society, Chinese Christians, and the state. Indigenization was not a new concept, however. In fact, the CIM leadership had embraced the idea of an indigenous Chinese church since the late 19th century. The society adopted indigenous principles as guideline for mission work following the evacuation of personnel during the Northern Expedition in the 1920s.[159] Indigenizing mission practices were geared around the idea of creating Chinese churches that exercised the three-self principles of self-governance, self-support, and self-

[157] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.
[158] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.
[159] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.

propagation. But by the society's admission the efforts had largely failed in the 1930s and early 1940s.[160]

Beginning in 1943, the CIM proposed a new era of wherein new practices of missionary work would be configured by the idea of the indigenous and sovereign Chinese church. By phasing out pioneer evangelism, the society acknowledged Chinese sovereignty and equality, and missionary mobility was reorganized to express these ideas. In promoting the indigenous principles the CIM also sold U.S. audiences and the larger international Protestant community on an image of Chinese Christian mobility that was sovereign, evangelical, and the driving force behind progress in the nation.

The concept of an indigenous church has interesting parallels with the American political ideal of self-determination. Within the same global moment as the Atlantic Charter committing the Allied Powers to the principle of self-rule and sovereign rights, the CIM's new campaign for indigenization stated its recognition for the authority of the national churches of China. In many ways the CIM's three-self approach to promoting the indigenous church and its rights—Chinese self-governance in church affairs, self-propagation in evangelism, and self-support in finances—mirrored the U.S. led international order's support for decolonizing nations' pursuing self-determination after 1945. I argue then that the idea of an indigenous, national church was the spiritual equivalent of the political ideal of a nation's self-determination. In this era, Protestant evangelicals saw the Chinese churches as microcosms of society, and their exercise of spiritual sovereignty was emblematic of the nation's political destiny. [161]

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[160] Collection 534, T4. Interview of Marguerite Owen by Bob Shuster, June 6, 1997.
[161] Brad Simpson, "The United States and the Curious History of Self-Determination," Diplomatic History, vol. 36, No. 4 (September 2012): 675-678.

Just as Roosevelt and Churchill's commitment to self-determination was partially a means to temper more radical currents of anti-colonial self-determination pacing the world, the CIM's push toward indigenization was also an effort to avert more radical definitions of indigenous Christianity from coming to fruition.[162] The theme of "open doors" conveyed that respect for Chinese spiritual sovereignty was dependent upon Chinese Christianity and society's "openness" to cooperation and influence from the international community. Entering the postwar era, the CIM continued to reject any notion that indigenous might mean wholly independent and autonomous of mission Christianity, such as the forms found among the Jesus Family or Little Flock. The CIM also resisted concepts of indigenization that focused "Sinicizing" Protestantism or changing the theological and political characteristics of Christianity to be more "Chinese" promoted by clergy such as Zhao Yichen and Wu Yaozhong.[163] Further, the mobility of the missionary under this concept implied that while the missionary's movement was no longer immune from Chinese sovereignty, it was in no way restricted by this sovereignty either.

The Asia-Pacific War and the Indigenous Church

The Asia-Pacific War jeopardized both the actual movement of missionaries and the meanings of that movement in several ways. In terms of actual movement from the late 1930s until 1945 the Asia-Pacific War greatly disrupted the CIM's work. Prior to 1941 fighting between the Japanese Imperial Army and the forces of the Guomindang and Chinese Communist Party led to the evacuation of a large number of the society's

[162] Brad Simpson, "The United States and the Curious History of Self-Determination," Diplomatic History, vol. 36, No. 4 (September 2012): 675-678.
[163] Sumkio Yammamoto, *History of Protestantism in China: The Indigenization of Christianity* (Institute of Easter Culture, 2000), p. 94.

personnel from the provinces of Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Anhui, Henan, Hebei, Shandong, and Shanxi.[164] Many of these missionaries relocated to new positions in the GMD controlled "Free China" working in or near the wartime capital of Chongqing. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese Imperial Army forced thousands of citizens of the Allied Powers into internment camps in cities such as Shanghai and Weifang. This included many members of the CIM. In Shandong, the society's complete lack of preparation for this turn of events meant that both the students and faculty of the entire Chefoo School system, a boarding school for missionary children, became prisoners of war on the school's campus by Japanese forces. Later, the Chefoo School staff and student body were removed to a camp in Weifang until 1945.[165] Thus, hundreds of CIM members were displaced from their regular assignments or imprisoned from 1937 to 1945.

Other missionaries of the CIM struggled to continue their work under the conditions and pressure of war. In this period, continuing work in areas of China under CCP or GMD control was difficult as well. In the northern provinces controlled by the CCP numerous missionaries reported that they were unable to continue on their work due to restrictions of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) on missionary activity and worship among Chinese Christians. Even occasionally within "Free China" CIM activities were restricted by the GMD. Beyond tensions with government or military forces, there were the numerous complications in communication, funding, transportation, and safety caused by the war that greatly hampered mission work during these years.[166]

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[164] China Inland Mission, *Wide Open Doors: The Story of the Year 1946* (Philadelphia: China Inland Mission, 1947)
[165] China Inland Mission, *Wide Open Doors: The Story of the Year 1946* (Philadelphia: China Inland Mission, 1947)
[166] China Inland Mission, *Wide Open Doors: The Story of the Year 1946* (Philadelphia: China Inland Mission, 1947)

The ways in which the war threatened the ideological meanings of missionary mobility were also severe. In this regard, the impact of the Japanese occupation on the future of the Protestant missionary endeavor in China has been understated in previous scholarship. In certain respects, Japan's internment of foreign missionaries was a critical precursor to the shock felt throughout the international Christian community after the CCP's founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 when foreign missions were first immobilized and then expelled. As a result of Japanese invasion and occupation from 1941 to 1945, an Asian regime had asserted its total control over the movement of the European and American community along the nation's coast. The association between the missionary's mobility and its immunity from the sovereignty of Asian regimes had been crippled. Additionally, the prospect of a Japanese victory in China threatened the missionary's signification of freedom, progress, and divine sovereignty.

Certainly, the repercussions of these events were not lost on the CIM's new General Director, Bishop Frank Houghton. He believed that only divine intercession had halted the late advance of Japanese forces in 1944 and early 1945 toward Chongqing, saving the Protestant missionary endeavor from a total collapse, "there was nothing at all to hinder the Japanese from making further advances….the deliverance was of God."[167]To Houghton and like-minded evangelical Protestants it had been God's will, not the Allied forces, which had ultimately saved the missionary from complete subjugation to Japanese control in China.

[167] China Inland Mission, *Rising Tide: The Story of the Year 1945,* (Philadelphia: China Inland Mission, 1946)

A second critical issue clouding the return of the CIM missionary to the field was the end of extraterritorial rights. The GMD's role as an Allied Power laid the basis for the end of extraterritoriality rights enjoyed by U.S. and British citizens in 1943. Although the majority of missions including the CIM supported the end of the unequal treaties as early as the 1920s, the loss of extraterritoriality rights called into question the freedom of the missionary from government licensure and regulation of mobility. Certainly, the GMD had sent a strong message in the 1920s and 1930s that Protestant missions were to conduct their business with a greater sense of respect for Chinese sovereignty, both politically and spiritually. Foreign control of key institutions in education and medicine had been points of contention between the GMD and the Protestant missionary force.[168] Within the missionary ranks cooperation with the GMD on a number of humanitarian political projects along with Jiang Jieshi's (Chiang Kai-shek) identity as a Christian left many Christians including the CIM's General Director assured of the continued importance of Protestant missions.[169] Even so the loss of extraterritorial rights and rising Chinese nationalism created uncertainty about the exact nature of the relationship between the government and Protestant missions.

There were tense relations between Chinese Protestants and foreign missions concerning sovereignty and nationalism heading into the postwar era as well. In the twentieth century many Chinese Christians strove to erase the stigma of Christianity as "foreign" and to assert their authority within Protestantism by freeing churches and

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[168] See Jessie G. Lutz. *China and Christian Colleges, 1850-1950* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1971) and Jessie G. Lutz, *Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 19201928* (Notre Dame: Cross Cultural Publications, 1988)

[169] In particular, Jiang Jieshi's address to the NCC in May 1943 declaring foreign missions welcome in China was perceived to be an invitation to resume work in postwar China. Oi Ki Ling, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), p. 57.

Protestant institutions from foreign control. Nationalist and anti-imperialist demonstrations by Chinese Christians following the May Thirtieth Incident and anti-Christian movements of the 1920s strained relations between foreign and Chinese Protestants. In response, embracing Chinese autonomy became an ideal guiding the practice of mission work, as more and more societies like the CIM spoke of "indigenous principles" as the guide for their work.[170]

A minority of Chinese Protestants even lobbied for mechanisms of control over the operations of foreign missions. Chinese delegates at the International Missionary Council in Jerusalem in 1928 questioned the necessity of missionary councils to represent Christianity in China and further asked that all future work of missionaries be assigned to representatives of the Chinese churches. In addition, the delegates proposed that national representatives should allocate finances and personnel raised outside of China to the Chinese churches. Never enacted, such measures suggested a growing desire among leading voices of the Chinese Protestant community for absolute sovereignty in Christian affairs within their national borders.[171]

The movement toward Chinese sovereignty over Protestantism would continue in the 1940s. In 1944, the National Christian Council (NCC) warned missions against working independently of Chinese leadership and instead championed programs for postwar reconstruction as a "great cooperative enterprise" between western countries and the Chinese Protestant community. To do so, missionary societies were encouraged to integrate themselves into existing Chinese churches and operate under their authority,

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[170] Ka-Che Yip,"China and Christianity: Perspectives on Missions, Nationalism, and the State in the Republican Period, 1912-1949," from Brian Stanley Ed. *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire (*Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2003)

[171] Oi Ki Ling, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), p.47.

simultaneously transferring control of church governance, financing, and property to Chinese administration. In 1946, the General Council of the China Christian Council (CCC) proposed Chinese-foreign coordination and planning of the allocation of missionary personnel and distribution of financial resources. It was further suggested by the General Council that re-occupying areas abandoned during the war proceed under the authority of local churches. This emphasis on Chinese authority and Sino-foreign cooperation extended to evangelism, too. Another proposal of Chinese leadership was that responsibility for "un-evangelized areas" be considered the joint responsibility of Chinese and foreign missions.[172]

The CIM's indigenous program then was a not only the means to establish an indigenous church, but also as a response to the challenges of Chinese nationalism, sovereignty, and the loss of extraterritorial rights. Asian regimes such as the Japanese forces and Chinese Communist Party had not only claimed the power to regulate missionary mobility but also in reality demonstrated their power to prohibit, detain, and deny its exercise. In addition, even seemingly pro-missionary regimes such as the GMD and leading Chinese Protestants criticized its connections to imperialism. Both groups asserted the dominion of Chinese over Protestantism in China and its civilizing mission in society. And the relinquishing of the unequal treaties created uncertainty surrounding the movements of missionaries in postwar China and by extension its association with values such as freedom and progress.

[172] Oi Ki Ling, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), p. 64-65.

Indigenous Church, Spiritual Sovereignty, and Chinese Pioneers

The CIM's plan for postwar work according to indigenous principles responded to these various issues in three critical ways. First, the CIM endeavored to promote the three-self principles as a means to strengthen the position of Chinese churches and their spiritual self-determination. Secondly, the CIM endeavored to reorganize evangelism based upon recognition of Chinese spiritual sovereignty and equality. Lastly, the meanings of Chinese mobility were altered as Chinese Protestants were ceded the right to lead China's evangelization and assume the role of "pioneers."

To promote Chinese self-determination and sovereignty the CIM planned to increase Chinese authority over governance, finance, and religious activities within existing Christian institutions. For instance, to promote self-governance within existing Christian institutions the CIM transferred ownership and control of many mission properties and facilities to Chinese congregations across the nation. In areas where Chinese congregations were deemed to be self-governing, the mission deeded to Chinese Christians the property of the mission with two conditions: the property was to be used only for church and evangelistic purposes,(i.e., no political or civic programs were allowed to use the premises), and, secondly, the church promised to uphold the doctrinal standards of the CIM in perpetuity.[173]

Promoting indigenization also required a rebalancing of the financial relationship between the mission and Chinese churches. According to the ideal of self-support the

[173] The use of these former mission properties proved a point of friction between missionaries and Chinese Christians in the postwar era. Often one of the largest and newest building within many communities, church buildings were frequently sought after by congregation members or the surrounding community as venues for entertainment, lodging, or even as storehouses for grain and farming equipment. All activities prohibited by the CIM deeds. Winifred Embery and Frances Flannigan, "Dedication of a Chapel," *China's Millions*, April 1946. John R. Sinton, "The Mission's Relationship to the Chinese Churches," *China's Millions,* November 1945.

CIM would also no longer employ thousands of Chinese workers. The responsibility for salaries of Chinese evangelists, pastors, bible schoolteachers, and colporteurs were to be transferred to Chinese congregations as a result of indigenization. Exceptions were made in the case of Christian workers laboring in Tibet or Xinjiang, areas still considered fit for pioneer work. In other cases, Chinese Christians were allowed "temporary" financial assistance from the CIM, particularly for "special projects" such as the founding of the Chongqing Theological Seminary. [174]

The more dramatic changes, however, came in promising to recognize the sovereignty of Chinese Christians in the realm of self-propagation. In 1944, Houghton announced that the Council had been moved by the events of the war to recognize that the Chinese Church was now God's primary channel for evangelizing China, "the principle which must govern all our thinking, and planning, and action in the matter of evangelism is that, as soon as a Church has been brought into being in any country, evangelism is the task of the church, not merely individuals within it, still less of Christians from other lands."[175]Chinese congregations were sovereign not just within their own communities, but posssessed the right to lead society's evangelization. On an official level, the CIM's spiritual mission, taking Christianity to its geographic and social limits within China, had been ceded to Chinese Protestants as their national right. And all evangelism within reach of existing Chinese Christians their sovereign right to initiate and lead.

Conversely, Chinese Christian sovereignty and an indigenous church did not mean independence. In theory, from the local to the national level the CIM would seek to

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[174] This also created tensions as many Chinese communities resented or resisted taking over the financial burden for Christian institutions and services. John R. Sinton, "The Mission's Relationship to the Chinese Churches," *China's Millions,* November 1945.
[175] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.

work with Chinese in evangelism at their discretion and according to their vision. Houghton said, "We as missionaries are the contributions of churches in other lands to the Church in China, and our commission will be fulfilled as we work with, and under, that Church."[176] Further, under this new emphasis, missionaries were relegated to a "secondary" position and were at the "disposal" of the Chinese Church in its endeavors as the "central evangelist agency."[177] The main thrusts of this latest iteration of the missionary work were to make evangelism church-focused, utilizing existing bases of Chinese Christianity to advance the gospel, and integrate the missionary more fully into the Chinese churches.

By specifying that the missionaries now occupied "secondary" positions the China Council hoped to revise the interpretation of indigenization as practiced in the 1920s and 1930s. In these decades, support for indigenous principles led many missionaries in the field to work entirely outside of existing Chinese Christian churches so as to prevent violating their authority. This is certainly the image of Chinese Christian and missionary relations left when reading the oral history of Dr. John Chin, a Chinese Christian born in Kaifeng, Henan in 1911. Chin was born into a Christian home, his parents having already converted to Christianity before he was born, and attended CIM churches during his childhood and youth, even later working in the mission's hospital in Kaifeng in the mid-1930s following his graduation from medical school. While in Henan at university and later as a doctor in the provinces of Yunnan and Shaanxi, Chin was an active lay evangelist contributing to student evangelism campaigns led by noted Chinese

[176] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.
[177] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.

Christians such as Watchman Nee and eventually even became a pastor and founder of a Lutheran Church in Xi'an.

Despite the CIM's considerable influence on his religious upbringing and Chin's own commitment to evangelism, however, rarely if ever did he work in tandem with missionaries. In the case of the CIM, Chin states that although the organization held an "advanced" view of the indigenous church in the 1930s and 1940s the society's call to fan out spreading the gospel in new directions and plant new churches meant that the congregations it founded in Henan remained small and its work with existing Chinese Christians rather limited. Contributing to this separation of missionaries and Chinese Christians was the fact that Chin as an evangelical found various opportunities for fellowship and evangelism within various sects of Chinese Christianity that were wholly independent of the missions that typically used the home as the focal point of planning and coordinating evangelism campaigns, a place that Chin recalls even CIM missionaries were typically reluctant to assemble in for fellowship.[178] Houghton's vision of indigenization sought to eradicate this social and spiritual distance between missionaries and existing Chinese believers by working in tandem with Chinese evangelists like Chin, especially in areas such as student evangelism.

A second issue in the era of pioneer evangelism was that many missionaries simply ignored the three-self principles and continued to dominate the life and activities of local churches.[179] By the 1940s neither result was acceptable to the CIM. The Council believed that society, the GMD and Chinese Protestants would not tolerate missionaries

[178] Interview with Dr. John C. Chin by Galen R. Wilson, March 3 1982, Collection 206, T1 from Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Billy Graham Center Archives
[179] Collection 534, T4. Interview of Marguerite Owen by Bob Shuster, June 6, 1997.

usurping their authority in the postwar era, nor would the mission and its followers support definitions of indigenous Chinese Christianity as wholly independent and autonomous from the international community.

For the CIM then the key to the success of indigenization and Sino-Foreign cooperation in evangelism hinged upon establishing equitable relations between Chinese and foreigners. Ensuring equitable relations was in part the basis for jettisoning the methods and ideology of the pioneer. In fact, much of the ideological value of the missionary's new role and place in society under indigenous principles found meaning through criticism of the pioneer era. According to Houghton under the practices of pioneer evangelism, CIM members all too often abused their positions in Chinese congregations by "condemning as unchristian what is, after all, only un-British or un-American."[180] To combat this prejudice, the society announced that it planned to revise its recruitment and training procedures. It also promised to introduce backdoor channels to allow Chinese congregations and clergy to evaluate the performance of CIM missionaries in the field and voice their favor or opposition to the return of members to their areas.[181]

More than just bureaucratic measures, the CIM promised to alter the rhetoric and ideology of the missionary force to generate equality. Under the new principles Houghton announced the missionary would "come to meet the Chinese as equals," and the General Director promised that no longer would the CIM make "appeals based on abuses to be found, or on the backwardness of the people." He stated that in the new era China's standing and that of the Chinese church was on par with the west, "China's spiritual need lies not in the fact that her millions are different from us or inferior to us, but like

[180] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.
[181] China council Notes Fall 1943, Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Billy Graham Center Archives

ourselves in that apart from Christ they are 'guilty, lost, and helpless.'"[182] Here, Houghton was hoping to completely rewrite the meanings of the missionary's call to China as understood in the pioneer era. Houghton proposed that under indigenous principles it would be recognition of equality and shared religious values, not difference that propelled the missionary to China.

In this new era of Sino-Foreign Protestant relations, missionary mobility and its representations gave expression to notions of equality and unity. Accompanying Houghton's article "The Pattern Shown" in February 1944 was the picture of four female evangelists, two foreign missionaries and two Chinese evangelists, with bicycles. Captioned "Working Together, Chinese and Foreign" the picture conveyed the new era's emphasis on equality and unity established through cooperation in evangelism and shared practices of movement.[183] During this period, through practices of movement and their representation Chinese Christians and missionaries demonstrated a shared ideological outlook and agenda, but also their essential equality with one another, and were a part of a larger series of events altering the meanings associated with Chinese mobility.

Just as the loss of extraterritoriality rights contributed to the reimagining of missionary mobility, U.S. immigration reform opened up a cultural space for reinterpreting the meanings of Chinese mobility. In 1943, Congress repealed exclusionary laws barring Chinese immigrants following diplomatic pressure by the GMD regime, although the significance of the decision was largely symbolic since the quota for Chinese migration was set at an annual limit of 105. Nonetheless, immigration reform reflected greater recognition of Chinese sovereignty and the more general decline of

[182] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.
[183] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.

racism's intellectual credibility in American life. Images in U.S. media such as Hollywood director Frank Capra's *The Battle of China* showing Chinese as "heroic" defenders of their freedom and country against the "militant" and "fanatical" Japanese also played a part in altering public opinion of the Chinese.[184] Similarly, the CIM and larger Protestant missionary movement lauded the heroics of Chinese Christians in maintaining worship and evangelism during the war while missionaries were forced to abandonded their posts or arrested by Japanese forces.[185] These portrayals contributed to the U.S. public's questioning of racial stereotypes about the Chinese as immoral, disorderly, and unassimilable, and larger discussion about the emergence of China and the Chinese as equals in the international community.

New ideas about Chinese mobility were given expression by the CIM positioning Chinese as taking up the mantle of "pioneers" through adopting the methods of pioneer evangelism. Prior to the Asia-Pacific War one of the more dominant images of Chinese Christian mobility among U.S. evangelicals had been that of the "colporteur." In the 1920s and 1930s, the CIM employed hundreds of Chinese workers as colporteurs to carry the mission's pamphlets and scripture books to distribute in rural villages and along waterways.[186] Thus, the mobility of Chinese Protestants often evoked servitude as these workers labored under the authority and direction of the missionary. Referring to their translators and co-evangelists as "helpers" or "assistants" similarly conveyed a sense of the Chinese Christian's secondary status to that of the foreign missionary. This equation of Chinese mobility with servitude was reinforced by representations of Chinese "coolies" carrying the luggage of missionaries or transporting them via sedan chair.

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[184] Frank Capra, *This is Why We Fight: The Battle of China*, (1944).

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[186] Percy Moore, "Evangelism through the Churches," *China's Millions,* September 1945.

Overall, such impressions built the sense that Chinese mobility functioned as a means to facilitate the missionary's mobility.

In contrast, the Chinese "pioneers" of the postwar era inspired images of autonomy and authority and their mobility was associated with the spread of piety, progress, and national reconstruction. Prevalent throughout the CIM publications were images of Chinese Christians as "pioneers" taking the gospel to their country's "unevangelized" or "reaching the heathen" in provinces like Guizhou and Yunnan. Other Chinese Christians were shown undertaking street and market preaching and district or provincial itinerations to combat idolatry and "superstition" in society.[187] Similarly, CIM missionaries praised Chinese evangelists for their zeal, seriousness and "businesslike" approach to evangelism, and for fighting against "false doctrine" and guarding the "purity" of the faith.[188] Lastly, metaphors comparing the Chinese churches to jet airplanes being "designed" and built in "factories" now ready to take flight in the pages of *China's Millions* cast Chinese Christianity as mobile, modern, and sophisticated.[189]

Hoping to cultivate a generation of Chinese pioneers, the most important new project the CIM undertook was the creation of the Chongqing Theological Seminary (CTS), presided over by Pastor Chen Chonggui, who was known to his supporters in the U.S., Canada, Great Britain and Australia as "Marcus Cheng. Chen was a nationally known Chinese evangelist and theologian, the sort of ally the CIM had been lacking in the previous decades, and had previously worked with the Swedish Missionary Society and Founded in the fall of 1943, the CIM hoped that under Chen the seminary would provide an evangelical alternative to the colleges and seminaries in China dominated by

[187] W.F.C. Austin, "Adventures of Mr. Bi" *China's Millions,* December 1946.
[188]John Bell, "A Letter from Kansu," *China's Millions*, March 1945.
[189] General Director Frank Houghton, "Advance in Northwest China," *China's Millions*, July 1947.

the theology and social ethos of the liberal-modernist Protestantism. Unlike those institutions, in Chen the CIM secured a Chinese evangelical to head a seminary that would train pastors and evangelists in the society's methods of evangelism and provide theological education rooted squarely in the tenets of fundamentalist-evangelicalism.

Like Houghton, Chen was an important voice urging that the age of the Chinese pioneer arrived. His book published by the CIM *Lamps Aflame,* Chen argued that Christianity's success in the postwar hinged on the Chinese evangelists, "If China is ever to be evangelized, if its people are ever to hear of the Savior, it must be through the witness of our own Chinese believers. The medium must be the Chinese personality."[190] While the foreign missionary still played an important role, Chen warned that within the context of state-building and China's striving for equality with the world the fulfillment of the CIM's ambitions rested on the shoulders of the Chinese evangelical. Not surprisingly, then, imparting the CIM's vision and missionary impulse to Chinese became the focal point of the missionary's work.

Testimony from Chen in *China's Millions* from 1944 to 1951 paired neatly with the picture printed alongside his articles. Cutting the figure of a professional and scholar, the small picture showed Chen standing, but not smiling, in a white suit coat and dark tie, his neat and flat hair cut and dark-rimmed glasses sitting just above his trimmed mustache. The image recalled the drawing entitled "Faces of Old and New China," from the popular *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, reprinted in the pages of *China's Millions*. Specifically, Chen's appearance referenced the male Han Chinese in a western-style suit labeled "Leader of the New China," who was surrounded in the drawing by a

[190] Marcus Cheng, *Lamps Aflame: The Story of the Chongqing Theological Seminary* (London: China Inland Mission, 1949): p. 9.

constellation of other figures meant to embody the elements of Chinese society. In total, there were ten faces drawn, but only three persons associated with "New China." "Leader of New China,""Young Lady of Hong Kong," and "Boy Scout-Mission School" were representative of "New China," and their figures were marked by their youthful expressions and dress in fashions influenced by western cultures, which were noticeably spotless and clean in contrast to the clothing of the "Faces of Old China." The rest of the Chinese were known as the "Yangtze Fisherman," "Peasant Mother," "Mule Driver-Shangtung," "Shanghai Beggar," "Mohammedan-Central China," "Peasant-Old Style," and "Visitor from Mongolia." All were dressed in "traditional" garb, their clothing smudged with dirt and stains, but also marked by captions that suggested an ethnicity, religion, and occupation which clearly marked them as the faces of "Old China."[191]

The drawing's message, much like the discourse surrounding Chen's role in indigenization and Protestant missions, concerned the role of modern subjects and the social and cultural transformations taking place in Chinese society in the twentieth century. The future of Chinese society lay with the "New Faces" just as the hopes among evangelicals in the U.S. for creating an indigenous Chinese Christianity was placed in the persons such as Chen, who embodied the visible and invisible characteristics of a "modern" Protestant leader.

Chinese Christians most commonly found in the pages of CIM's *China's Millions* before the 1940s had much more in common, however, at least in terms of occupation and social background with the drawings of the Chinese labeled "Peasant-Old style" or the weary, elderly and stooping "Peasant mother." For much of its ninety year past, the

[191] "Faces of Old and New China," *China's* Millions (May 1945), p.69.

CIM operated according to the idea of "pioneering" missionary work according to its founder's commitment to expanding and spreading the gospel to areas "untouched" by Christianity.[192] This focus on "un-evangelized areas" and relative lack of involvement in formally educating and training Christians in the past meant that the CIM had few second-generation or third generation Chinese Christians working directly with the mission's personnel. Located primarily in rural areas, the CIM attracted few converts with formal education and prestigious social standing in these communities, at least initially. The social background of Chinese Christians within the CIM flock tended to be rural peasants, the elderly, and many congregations initially formed through the initiative of Chinese women.[193] As a result, the first converts attracted to the mission churches of the CIM were often illiterate or had little formal education, and knew very little English. The CIM's work in untouched areas also concentrated on many ethnic and religious minorities deemed by the majority of Han Chinese to be racially, culturally, and socially inferior.[194] Chen and the seminary's students were envisioned as a response to the past issues in the CIM's development of indigenization which had failed to establish a Chinese church that was both under the authority of Chinese and yet recognizably "modern" to foreigners by cultivating congregational and national leadership from the "New Faces" that now responded to the CIM's brand of evangelical Protestantism.

Conversely, the relationship between the Chen and the Chongqing Theological Seminary and the CIM perfectly illustrates how ideas about the sovereignty of Chinese

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[192] *Report of the Director's Conference and Special Session of the China Council*. September 22, 1938 to January 9, 1939. Shanghai; General Director Stanley Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions* (February 1944)

[193] "Dead Bones Live," *China's Millions*, April 1945.; "Sister Li Lives for Christ," *China's Millions*, May 1945;"Now There is a Church at Chai Chia Po," *China's Millions*, July 1945.

[194] "The Challenge of Chinese Turkestan," *China's Millions, (*July 1944);

Christians were complicated by the missionary movement's return to the field. Although from the start General Director Houghton and Chen had agreed that the seminary was an "independent" institution, the CIM and its support communities around the world were heavily invested financially in the seminary. From 1944 until 1951, the CIM provided a majority of the institution's operational budget, donated the premises for the school's campus, and raised funds and publicity for the seminary around the world. In addition, several CIM members served as faculty instructors and administrators at the CTS, and guest speakers such as General Director Houghton from the CIM were frequently present in the seminary's classrooms, worship services, and youth rallies. Further, students and faculty preached in CIM churches, aided CIM missionaries in evangelistic activities around Chongqing in prisons and on college campuses, and joined the society's members each summer break on itinerations across Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guangdong. Not to mention it was the China Council of the CIM that had concocted the plans for the CTS in the first place and selected Chen as the seminary's first president. [195]

Through its influence and relations with Chen and the Chongqing Theological Seminary the CIM put forward an alternative to more radical, independent forms of indigenization coming from the broader Christian community. In particular, there were two variants of indigenization that the CIM remained ideologically opposed to: the first being a revivalist brand of various Chinese Christian movements that stood wholly outside the mission networks and the second a loosely connected cohort of Chinese theologians and social reformers who "sinicized" Christianity. The first group was

[195] Even as the Chinese Civil War raged on the success of the CTS and CIM's focus on education and training of Chinese Christian leadership inspired the China Council to contemplate opening similar schools in Honan and Anhui in the spring of 1947. China Council Notes, February 4, 1947, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.;

admittedly indigenous, but opposed by the CIM as "pseudo-religious" because its leadership had little to no official education in Christian theology and catechism.[196] Groups such as the Jesus Family and Little Flock also tended to form hybrid ontological systems that incorporated Christian symbols and messages into other religious structures like Chinese popular religion.

The second category, the "sinicizers," a group of highly-educated Chinese Christian theologians and clergy, was seen as the byproduct of liberal-modernist relativism, which from the perspective of Protestant evangelicals meant that Christianity was perverted into merely an ethical system, not a religion. Among this cohort, members such as Zhao Zichen and Wu Yaozhong rooted the intellectual foundations of Chinese Christianity in a blend of modern scientific rationalism and precepts of classical Chinese philosophy, each choosing to ignore such basic western Christian concepts like the miracles of God's divine intervention or the role of sin and redemption in the Christian life. This "sinicization" of Christianity built on the new roles indigenous leadership had within Christian institutions to make both Christian theology and social activism relevant to the Chinese experience.[197]

At the local level among rural Chinese congregations, the CIM evangelicalism found itself in competition for followers with the popular revivalism of revivalist groups like the Little Flock and other charismatic movements who remained wholly outside any contact or cooperation with foreign missions. And at the national level, liberal-modernists and "sinicizers" dominated the conversation with Chinese youth and intelligentsia. At

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[196] "Ministry of Teaching," *China's Millions,* April 1946; "The 'Jesus Family'" *China's Millions,* January 1945.

[197] Sumkio Yamamoto, *History of Protestantism in China: the Indigenization of Christianity*. The Tōhō Gakkai (The Institute of Eastern Culture 2000), p. 394.

both levels, from the top and from below, the CIM's opposition to these two broad strokes of indigenization demonstrated an evangelical wearisome attitude toward indigenization of Protestantism in the realm of culture. In the agreement with Chen, the CIM found a Protestant leader who agreed that indigenization's main issues concerned race and nationality, not culture. Chen's career and episodic disputes with missions had been about Chinese Christians having autonomy, economic responsibility and control of Christian communities, and a leading role in the propagation of Christianity.

From the vantage of the CIM, indigenization was about the transfer of autonomy from foreign to Chinese, not about a cultural renovation of the faith itself. Chen's presidency, his evangelical worldview and extensive education in western Christian theology, ensured that evangelicalism would cultivate a generation of Chinese pioneers from the "New Faces of China," and safeguard against the "excesses" of indigenization. The founding of an evangelical seminary and its importance to indigenization was about creating a strong national rival to the liberal-modernist camp and creating an educated and classically trained rural Chinese clergy. A generation of Christian leadership that indigenization could be entrusted to carry forward without threatening the core principles of evangelical Protestantism as understood in western countries.

There were also a number of ways that the CIM positioned Chinese spiritual sovereignty as limited and incomplete inside China. First, the CIM enumerated several circumstances permitting the continued practice of European or American pioneer evangelism. The China Council of the CIM declared that the society would continue its "pioneering efforts" among the nation's "non-Chinese races" with greater intensity in the postwar era. The list of "Non-Chinese Races" included the peoples of Tibet, Muslims, the

"border tribes" of Sichuan, and various "aboriginals" in Guizhou and Yunnan. In these regions and amongst these populations the CIM reserved the right to work outside of the Chinese churches.[198] Thus, Chinese spiritual sovereignty was limited by geography and ethnicity, and various non-Han Chinese Christian groups were denied the equality and sovereignty extended to other Chinese Protestants in this period, leaving the foreign missionary with the prerogative to engage in pioneer evangelism.

A second constraint on Chinese sovereignty was that the CIM reserved the right to sidestep the authority of Chinese churches. The CIM approached the possibility of Chinese reluctance to zealously propagate the faith cautiously. In 1944, General Director Houghton declared that "Where the Church is weak or lacking in vision, and the population of great cities, or of neighboring country districts, is being left unevangelized, it should still be our aim to work through the Church rather than apart from it."[199] He argued, however, that it might be necessary in such cases for CIM missionaries to evangelize in places or amongst groups without cooperation or approval of Chinese Christians. In doing so, Houghton stated that the CIM missionaries would be considered "temporary" and "representative" of Chinese Christianity, not of the international community.[200] Oddly enough, this interpretation advanced the notion that missionary mobility could on occasion reflect the desire and intent of Chinese spiritual sovereignty even before any Chinese Christian had articulated or exercised this expression. The qualification also functioned as a loophole for CIM missionaries to exploit in bypassing the Chinese right of self-propagation.

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198 General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.
199 General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.
200 General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.

Most importantly, Chinese spiritual sovereignty was undermined by the mission's rhetoric about the "infancy" or "immaturity" of the Chinese churches. Such ideas were promoted by the CIM in articles such as the "Adolescence of the Church in China," by prominent members such as D. Bently Taylor. In the March 1945 issue of *China's Millions,* Taylor proclaimed, "Behold a nation-wide church emerging from its childhood, conscious of its freedom, impatient of restraint, eager for friendship and the kind advice of an equal, but sensitive to criticism and repelled by aloofness or assumption of superiority."[201] He warned that during such a period the "adolescent" Chinese Christians were "often prepared to try methods and ideas which we know to be dangerous and detrimental to spiritual health, and sometimes she is torn by sectarian winds of her own, or blown upon by varying winds of doctrine, of truth, of untruth and of ill-directed zeal."[202] Rather than fully sovereign or equal, Taylor's metaphor suggested that the Chinese churches were in a period of transition. Further, that in exercising sovereignty Chinese Protestants would be prone to errors and perhaps threaten the integrity of the faith. This rhetoric about Chinese "adolescence" imbued recognition and respect for Chinese authority with a sense of paternalism. In particular it fueled the CIM and their supporters' strong desire to shape the development and exercise of Chinese Christianity in the 1940s.

The sense that Chinese Christians were sovereign and yet lacking the experience or qualities necessary to exercise their rights properly was also perpetuated by the CIM's constant reminders that the Chinese Christian population was incredibly small and the number of its ordained and educated Christian pastors smaller still. In Jiangxi, the CIM

[201] D. Bentley-Taylor, "Adolescence of the Church in China," *China's Millions,* March 1946.
[202] D. Bentley-Taylor, "Adolescence of the Church in China," *China's Millions,* March 1946.

advertised that by 1946 "not only are there no missionaries in most places, but no Chinese workers." Even the CIM-affiliated churches in the cities of Nanchang, Kian, Kanchou, and Shanghjiao were without Chinese pastors.[203] The General Director stated that it would be years, perhaps decades, before the Chinese had enough educated clergy and lay leadership to staff the nation's bible schools, seminaries, and churches.[204] While this impacted the Chinese Christian capacity for self-governance and self-support, the CIM was most concerned about how it influenced evangelism.

Therefore, the CIM acknowledged Chinese Christians as sovereign and equal, but also equally dependent on cooperation with the missionary to exercise their spiritual sovereignty. The CIM's rhetoric about the sovereignty of Chinese Christians and partnerships with evangelicals like Chen and the Chongqing Theological Seminary officially elevated Chinese evangelicals to the status of ally and equal to the foreign missionary. Further, the CIM's representations of Chinese pioneers disseminated images of Chinese mobility associated with as modern, pious, and critical to society's postwar reconstruction. Simultaneously, the mission's references to the dearth of Chinese evangelicals like Chen and delineation of the limits to Chinese authority spiritual clearly undermined respect for Chinese spiritual sovereignty and equality. Nor did the CIM accept the idea that Chinese spiritual sovereignty meant independence from Protestant missions, rather the CIM put forward a definition of relations between the missionary and indigenous Chinese Christianity that sought to integrate them further.

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[203] Herbert Rowe, "Tidings From Many Parts of China," *China's Millions*, March 1946., George Steed, "North Anhwei," *China's Millions,* January 1947.
[204] John R. Sinton, "The Mission's Relationship to the Chinese Churches," *China's Millions,* November 1945.

In referencing the limits to indigenous authority, Houghton and other members of the CIM argued time and again that mission-church cooperation was a buttress to Chinese Protestant aims and ambitions. From the vantage point of the CIM, the Chinese Christian community lacked the size and qualifications to evangelize China without the missionary, a problem that institutions such as the CTS were intended to solve, but not immediately. Further stressors on the churches such as the nation's recovery and its own "adolescence" and lack of trained leadership and Christian the CIM argued demanded the Protestant missionary movement's increasing investment in China, not a reduction in its efforts.

New Roles, New Mobility

Indigenous principles and the sovereignty of Chinese Protestants also led to a reimagining of the missionary's role in postwar society. To promote Chinese sovereignty and self-determination, the CIM missionaries focused on a church-centric approach to evangelism, helped existing churches achieve the three-selfs, and reassigned many personnel to focus on disciple-ship training. In many other cases, missionaries were assigned to "specialized work" where members were loaned out to various evangelistic agencies, educational institutions, or government agencies. Lastly, the CIM planned to foster within China a nation-wide evangelical infrastructure of bible schools, seminaries, and evangelism agencies that would both promote and strengthen Chinese evangelicals.

This reorganization of missionary work intended to alter mission work in a number of significant ways. The first major alteration was that the CIM planned to integrate missionaries within existing Chinese churches, and secure their approval to engage in work within their areas at their invitation and discretion. The indigenous program allocated the society's personnel across the field according to entirely different

priorities. Five years prior at the 1938 China Council Meeting the society had reiterated its focus on sending agents first to "unevangelized areas," and then secondly to "partly evangelized areas." Work in "Church areas" was deemed the lowest priority for the CIM. Conversely, the postwar indigenization program endeavored to "reverse that order, and, thus, to recognize that the Church is central to our thinking." Now, missionaries were to be redirected away from the "frontier" and toward existing Chinese congregations in order to cooperate with and work under Chinese leadership.[205] Ideally, the missionary would operate under the invitation and at the discretion of Chinese churches.

Procuring these "invitations" from Chinese churches became essential to the missionary's return to the field. To pave the way for the missionary, the China Council first sent circulars describing the mission's new principles to Chinese evangelicals. Following in their wake in early 1945 another "vanguard" of missionaries was directed back to the abandoned fields in Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Anhui, Henan, Hebei, and Shanxi to work out agreements in person. It was largely up to these advisory commissions—composed of a provincial superintendent, and two missionaries, one to assess the costs of reoccupation and damages done to mission property and a female member— to convey the mission's new principles in person and lay the groundwork for potential areas of cooperation for CIM missionaries under the authority of Chinese congregations. By November of 1945 the society had already laid out the basis for its cooperation with over 1,000 communities of Chinese Christians nationwide.[206]

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[205] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.
[206] Even after 1945, survey teams continued to assess districts, provincial, and regional conditions in terms of evangelism and church membership as well as establish communication with Chinese Christians willing to work with the CIM. Winifred Embrey and Frances Flannigan, "Dedication of a Chapel," *China's Millions,* April 1946.

Within existing congregations many CIM members were reassigned to roles as bible teachers or other activities intended for discipleship training. Houghton predicted that as Chinese took up the call to evangelize Bible teaching would be the CIM's "biggest contribution" to society.[207] Within the interior provinces, the shift from "pioneer" evangelist to bible teacher, however, rarely resulted in less mobility for CIM missionaries. Instead of seeking converts or distributing tracts, missionaries trekked all over cities and the countryside to offer weekly bible classes, attend conferences, and aid Chinese evangelists. Additionally, CIM missionaries would make annual or biannual visits to every local church in their area to aid in bible schools, church conferences, or aid Chinese-led evangelism campaigns. Further, CIM members traveled with Chinese evangelists and bible teachers to accompany them as they fulfilled their tasks.[208] Many missionaries then would be itinerant educators in scripture and Protestant morality rather than preachers and proselytizers.

"Specialized work" covered a wide range of activities and posts taken up by missionaries. In some cases the society would loan members to "purely Chinese projects" such as the Holy Light School in Chongqing. Officially teachers and faculty members, the CIM missionaries would have "nothing to do with the actual school work," but instead use their positions for "personal work among officials and students in the neighborhood." In another example, missionaries were assigned to the GMD Ministry of Education for use in medical training programs.[209]

Other examples of "specialized work" referred to the CIM's relatively small medical and public health programs, which increased in scope and importance during this

[207] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.
[208] John Bell, "Strengthening the Churches," *China's Millions,* September 1945.
[209] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.

period. Prior to 1945, the CIM's medical work in many regions had primarily been a function of providing basic medical care and services to areas to groups considered "the poor and needy" on the periphery of Chinese society.[210] However, following the new principles, more efforts were planned for building connections with hospitals and clinics near strong churches. In areas like Lanchung, Sichuan the society would launch medical training programs for nurses.[211] In these areas, CIM missionaries would establish close relations between hospital staff and local churches and encourage the participation of Chinese doctors and nurses in evangelistic services at the church. And, of course, the churches in these hospitals would be used for evangelism.[212]

Within these assignments to "specialized work," the missionary's professional expertise was to be an entry point for attracting new converts and initiating evangelistic activities. In line with this tactic, the CIM joined the majority of liberal-modernist mission societies already employing English language classes to attract Chinese. Using the Bible as a text for their classes, CIM workers also organized weekly evangelistic services on their campuses for students. As opposed to a number of liberal-modernist mission societies, the ultimate goal of the CIM missionary's assignment was far from secular in nature, it remained fixated on conversion and dissemination of Christianity.

Since educating and training Chinese evangelicals was seen as a key contribution to strengthening the Chinese churches, "specialized work" also implied new posts as educators and administrators within the nation's seminaries and bible institutes. This type of work was not altogether new. Prior to the 1940s, the CIM had established and operated bible institutes in Sichuan (Chengdu and Paoning), Shanxi (Hungtung, Yuncheng),

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[210] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.
[211] Dr. C.F. Maddox, "Capping Ceremony," *China's Millions,* June 1945.
[212] "Two Aspects of Postwar Planning," *China's Millions,* July 1945.

Shaanxi (Xi'An and Fengsiang), Henan, Yunnan, and Guizhou (Pingpa and Kopu).[213] Along with medical work, the importance and prominence of this work grew under indigenization.

The CIM's postwar justification for the emphasis on training and educating Chinese Christians was the idea that the Chinese Church was hindered in its sovereignty by a lack of professionally trained evangelical leadership. After the war, this led the CIM to loan more staff to existing bible institutes and seminaries and cooperate more with Chinese clergy and faculty at these institutions. By 1944, the CIM had loaned missionaries to work as faculty at the Hunan Bible Institute (Changsha), The China Bible Seminary (Shanghai), Pastor David Yang's Bible School (Tianjin), The Northwestern Bible Institute (Fengsiang, Shaanxi), Pastor Wei's Bible School (Henan), Pastor Kia Yu Ming's Bible Institute (Chengdu), and the Chongqing Theological Seminary (Chongqing). In addition to providing staff to these organizations, the CIM expanded its efforts to include financial assistance, understood as a temporary condition, to various seminaries and bible institutes in Shanghai, Beijing, Manchuria, and Shandong province. Plans were also approved for the CIM to build seminaries for evangelical students in the nation's northern and central regions.[214]

Many of the assignments to "specialized work" and emphasis on education would have CIM members traveling widely but in much a different social environment than the pioneer era. As Beatrice Sunderland commented on her reassignment to a college

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[213] FCR Dreyer, "Toronto Council Speech Training Chinese Workers," U.S. Home Council Notes, 1944 Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Billy Graham Center Archives

[214] FCR Dreyer, "Toronto Council Speech Training Chinese Workers," U.S. Home Council Notes, 1944 Records of the United States Home Council of Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Billy Graham Center Archives

classroom in Lanchow, Gansu after the war "it was a big change, in many respects, from the little village…with its pigs and chickens, and donkeys and mud floors," where she had worked previously for two years as a pioneer evangelist.[215] Assignments to "specialized work" like Sunderland's dramatically alter the contours of the missionary's mobility to a greater degree by placing more them within urban settings, institutions, and on college campuses.

The social classes targeted by CIM agents engaged in these projects changed as well. Much of the CIM's plans for "specialized work" involved intensifying the society's efforts to reach Chinese youth. During the war the CIM experienced great unprecedented success in student evangelism within the provinces of Gansu and Sichuan. After 1945, student evangelism became a top priority of the CIM. As a result the society collaborated with various Protestant organizations including China IVF and the Pocket Testament League to found evangelical organizations on the college campuses of Beijing as well as Central University (Nanjing), Chongqing University, Sichuan University (Chengdu), West China University (Chengdu), Hong Kong University, Lingnan Univeristy (Hong Kong), Jiangsu Medical College (Xuzhou), Guangdong Provincial College, Guangxi University, and Chongshan College (Taiyuan).[216] In the student movement the CIM invested its hopes for the future of the nation and Protestant churches. In the cities of Nanjing, Shanghai, Chengdu, and Chongqing the CIM and China IVF heralded the

[215] Beatrice Sutherland "Students' Retreat in Langchow," *China's Millions,* March 1945.
[216]Slideshows from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

creation of a "nucleus of young Christians with a definite experience of salvation" who were being mobilized and trained as evangelists to "reach the whole field."[217]

Evangelistic outreach to the government and armed forces were projects highly valued by the CIM in the postwar as well. For example, in December 1945 *China's Millions* asked readers to join Chinese Christians in the province of Jiangxi in praying for the conversion of Jiang Jieshi's eldest son, Jiang Jingguo. Described by the magazine as "an earnest reformer" with a reputation for "justice and integrity," he was lauded by the CIM for leading the government's fight against corruption, opium abuse, and gambling in the region. Hoping for his conversion, the CIM offered special prayer services throughout the area and then expanded this effort to include the entire international community.[218] Even as more and more criticism of the GMD as a corrupt and inefficient regime surfaced in the U.S. in the late 1940s the CIM continued to conduct "specialized work" to reach soldiers and government officials. Noting China's rising social ills and reports of "corrupt officialdom" around the nation, CIM missionaries such as Leslie Lyall called upon the CIM and its supporters to redouble efforts to "make supplication for 'all who are in high station.'"[219] Increasingly the CIM promoted the sense that the China's fate was bound up in reaching elites.

That the CIM's faith in indigenous leadership rested upon transferring control over Christianity to elite Chinese Christians is revealed then rerouting of missionaries in China to college campuses, seminaries, bible institutes, military camps, and government offices. The transition of missionary David Adeney from church-planting and pioneering

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[217] General Director Frank Houghton, "Not Chaos But Opportunity," *China's Millions,* February 1947; David Adeney, "Rapid Growth of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship in China," *China's Millions,* June 1946.; David Adeney, "Student Witness in Peiping," *China's Millions,* December 1946.
[218] Cyril Faulkner "An Earnest Reformer," *China's Millions,* December 1945.
[219] Leslie Lyall, "China's Immediate Need," *China's Millions,* July 1946.

in Henan to student evangelism in cities like Beijing and Shanghai reveals just how much the Asia-Pacific War and new emphasis on indigenization rerouted the life and career of many missionaries. Adeney left China on his furlough in 1941 after seven years in the field, passing through Japanese lines on his was to Shanghai just a few months before the attack on Pearl Harbor. With his home country of Great Britain embroiled in war, he and his wife Ruth went to her family in the U.S. On his way to California for furlough with the society's new General Director Frank Houghton, Adeney was selected to fulfill the request of Stacey Woods, U.S. leader of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship (IVF), for a CIM member to be loaned to the organization to promote Protestant missions on college and university campuses.[220]

Adeney joined the Inter-Varsity Fellowship as a staff worker just in time to participate as the organization toured the West Coast holding Christian rallies at institutions such as Stanford University. He then settled for a time in the Midwest, traveling to engagements to engagements at institutions like the University of Michigan on behalf of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship and CIM from his wife's family farm in Minnesota. Later, he relocated to the East Coast for the Inter-Varsity Fellowship and visited student groups at Yale, Harvard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Princeton and attended various conferences throughout New England.[221]

Traveling back to China before the end of the war, Adeney once again was selected by General Director to be loaned to the IVF. This time, however, he was under

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[220] Before joining the CIM he had been a member of similar Christian youth organizations such as the Cambridge University Fellowship and Missionary Training Colony in the United Kingdom.Interview of David Howard Adeney by Paul Ericksen, November 14 1988. Collection 393, T5 from Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

[221] Interview of David Howard Adeney by Paul Ericksen, November 14 1988. Collection 393, T5 from Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

the auspices of the China IVF, formed out of the refugee student populations living in and around Chongqing during the war. The China IVF and CIM shared a strong belief in student evangelism as a key to the nation's political and spiritual development and postwar reconstruction. He remained a member and still reported to the executive staff of the CIM in Shanghai, but in theory Executive Secretary of the China IVF Calvin Chao designated Adeney's duties as a staff worker and set his itinerary as a speaker and organizer of China IVF chapters on college and university campuses.[222]

Starting along the Burma Road to Chongqing, once he arrived Adeney wasted no time in beginning his campaigns among China's student population meeting with various student groups in Chengdu and Chongqing. Following a summer conference for the universities in Chongqing in 1945, he set out to meet with students in nearby Beipei to visit the student body of Fudan University and then travel to meet with students living in the larger cities in Yunnan and Guizhou. As the war in China ended his target audience among the nation's students and college faculty, most of them refugees, drifted back east. Adeney followed in the company of Chao and the small staff of the China IVF. Going first to Beijing for several weeks, he eventually was based out of Nanjing and Shanghai.[223]

Adeney's position with the China IVF reflected the hopes of the CIM that the return of China's government and college youth to the coastal provinces would usher in a period of national rejuvenation and spiritual revival. At the time Adeney thought "government was about to return to the east, the colleges, universities were all going back

[222] Interview of David Howard Adeney by Paul Ericksen, November 14 1988. Collection 393, T5 from Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[223] Interview of David Howard Adeney by Paul Ericksen, November 14 1988. Collection 393, T5, T3 from Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

to their original campuses…there was a hope that now victory had been won China would become more prosperous…this is a day when people are extremely open to the Gospel."[224] Ultimately, Adeney's work demonstrated the greater evangelical desire to turn the advances made by the CIM with students and elites during the war into an assault on the nation's intellectual and academic centers.

In cities like Beijing, Adeney oversaw the launch of local China IVF chapters as students and faculty returned from "Free China." The work required that he first contact existing Chinese churches to find evangelists and pastors to assist him in his efforts and build nuclei of evangelical students on each campus. In addition, he led weekly bible classes on college campuses, organized prayer meetings and gatherings for the students, and conducted English-language courses to attract non-Christian students. He also reached out to the city's high schools with many of the same services. The goal was to create a city-wide network of China IVF groups and evangelistic activities geared toward youth. By December 1946, his campaigns were largely successful and evangelical Chinese students in Beijing were planning a series of rallies to be headlined by noted evangelist Wang Mingdao.[225]

Student evangelism with the China IVF was very different than Adeney's first tour of duty as a missionary in Henan in the late 1930s and early 1940s. In terms of geography and demographics, the college campuses and rallies of Chinese urban youth were far removed from his first post in the rural areas of Siangcheng, Henan. What both positions had in common, though, was the sustained ethos of mobile evangelism and

[224] Interview of David Howard Adeney by Paul Ericksen, November 14 1988. Collection 393, T3 from Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[225] Interview of David Howard Adeney by Paul Ericksen, November 14 1988. Collection 393, T3, T4, T5 from Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

dependence on a trusty bicycle. In Henan, Adeney along with fellow missionary Henry Guiness relied on bicycles to maintain fellowship with the provincial outstations, country congregations, and seek out "unevangelized areas."[226] In Beijing, he purchased a bicycle because as he explained to readers of *China's Millions*, "pedicabs are very expensive and the buses and streetcars cover only certain routes."[227] The treks across the city to the various colleges kept him on his bicycle for an average of ten miles a day. In addition, the pattern of his work was similar to that of pioneer evangelism in Henan: bicycle to a meeting, preach, distribute texts, organize and coordinate the activities of Christians, and train workers in evangelism before moving on to a new campus to seek out another new cohort of interested Chinese.[228]

Adeney's career in the 1940s illustrates an extraordinary mobility while working for the CIM in this era, and the increasing significance of students and student evangelism to the society. Working primarily in just three of these nations, China, U.S., and United Kingdom, Adeney's student evangelism led him to visit many of the leading higher educational institutions and their Christian student bodies in these three key poles of the Christian moral empire. Most especially in China and the U.S., Adeney physically stepped foot on the campuses of an incredible number of academic communities from Yale to Yenching University. Further, student evangelism forced Adeney to travel to nearly every major American and Chinese city in this period, traveling from coast to coast in each nation, entering in the West (San Francisco, 1941 and Kunming, 1945) and then working his way back East (Boston, 1943, and Nanjing, 1946). And lastly via

[226] Interview of David Howard Adeney by Paul Ericksen, November 14 1988. Collection 393, T3, T4, T5 from Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[227] David Adeney, "Student Witness in Peiping," *China's Millions*, December 1946.
[228] David Adeney, "Student Witness in Peiping," *China's Millions*, December 1946.

representation in slideshows he also managed to complete two tours of the CIM's support networks in the East, Midwest, and West coast of the U.S.

Secondly, his efforts in student evangelism highlight the continuity in missionary practices between the eras of pioneer evangelism and the postwar, but also its new ideological meanings. Under the new emphasis on indigenization, the missionary's postwar mobility marked certain classes and groups within China as more capable of exercising spiritual sovereignty and equality than others. Which oddly enough, meant that the society betrayed a lack of trust in its origins among the classes associated with its frontier history. Rural Chinese, women, the impoverished and marginalized carried less and less ideological significance as the CIM devoted more prayer and resources to "all who are in high station." In many ways this attitude foreshadowed the dominant American and Western European reaction to decolonization in Asia, where these groups also searched for elites in these societies with common backgrounds or values to transfer power to as imperialism receded.

These messages were relayed to U.S. audiences as Adeney and many of his colleagues in the CIM working at student evangelism were featured in slideshows shown to supporters of Inter-Varsity Fellowship and CIM. The slideshows recreated the movements of student evangelists like Adeney and his fellow CIM missionaries Henry Guinness, Eric Liberty, Leslie Lyall, and Frank Harris as they tramped from one of the nation's college campuses to another. CIM deputation workers in California used slideshows written by Adeney about the China Inter-Varsity Fellowship and CIM building Christian student organizations on the campuses of Central University (Nanjing), Chongqing University, Sichuan University (Chengdu), West China University

(Chengdu), Hong Kong University, Lingnan Univeristy (Hong Kong), Jiangsu Medical College (Xuzhou), Guangdong Provincial College, Guangxi University, and Chongshan College (Taiyuan).[229]

Like slideshows of the pioneer, these slides of student evangelism constructed an imaginary of the missionary's mobility and the meanings of their work in postwar China. In the cities of Nanjing, Shanghai, Chengdu, and Chongqing the CIM and China Inter-Varsity Fellowship heralded the creation of a "nucleus of young Christians with a definite experience of salvation," who were being mobilized and trained as evangelists to "reach the whole field."[230] That Billy Graham's postwar urban youth campaigns were buzzing in U.S. media and cities in this same period no doubt bolstered the excitement generated by the slideshows and buoyed Christian optimism to imagine China, if on smaller scale, awakening to a national evangelical movement.

Overall, these slideshows created the impression of the CIM and China Inter-Varsity Fellowship's aggressive penetration of China's academic and intellectual communities. Photographs from both slideshows depicted the missionary moving about in dormitories, cafeterias, reading rooms and libraries, conferences and rallies, teaching English and bible courses. Many photographs showed missionaries singing, eating, counseling, and training with Chinese youth. In addition the slides demonstrated how the CIM's personnel as educators and teachers, such as Frank Harris, now a faculty member

[229]Slideshows from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[230] General Director Frank Houghton, "Not Chaos But Opportunity," *China's Millions,* February 1947; David Adeney, "Rapid Growth of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship in China," *China's Millions,* June 1946.; David Adeney, "Student Witness in Peiping," *China's Millions,* December 1946.

at Sichuan University, had repositioned evangelical missionaries to capitalize on the surge in popularity of evangelical Christianity among the nation's youth.[231]

The slideshows conveyed a number of messages about Chinese Christians as well. Pictures of Chinese Christians bowing in prayer, zealously singing in choirs, studying the bible in groups, and traveling widely to attend evangelist meetings and student conferences displayed piety and spiritual sincerity. Simultaneously, images of students and Chinese evangelists creating flyers and posters for distribution, utilizing radio to broadcast Christian programs across college campuses, and leading evangelistic services demonstrated the competency, efficiency, and discipline of indigenous leadership. This was particularly true of the slideshows pictures presenting the leading "lights" of the China Inter-Varsity Fellowship and evangelical movement such as Calvin Chao, David Yang, Wang Mingdao, and Timothy Lin. All of the media represented Chinese Christianity as a mobile and powerful force in society through its able-bodied, energetic, and efficient evangelists.

Another effect of the slideshow and script was to impart an imaginary of the evangelical student movement's centrality in postwar society and their sweeping national appeal. The final image of the slideshow showed the conferences 350 delegates from over sixty universities and colleges across the country. The slideshow also credited the GMD, especially Soong May-Ling, wife of Jiang Jieshi, as a patron of student evangelism. Slideshows informed U.S. audiences that the National Conference of the China Inter-Varsity Fellowship was invited by Soong to hold the meetings at her newly constructed orphanage for children of war veterans located near Zijin Shan (Purple Mountain) in

[231] Slideshows from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

Nanjing. Various images displayed Chinese Christians and missionaries on the grounds enjoying the use of the buildings, parks, and gymnasium. Other images displayed China Inter-Varsity Fellowship meetings and activities in Nanjing Zhongshan Park and at the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum. According to these images, at the behest of the GMD, student evangelism was seen occupying the heart of the nation's political and cultural centers.[232]

An equally revealing development after 1945 was that CIM missionaries were expected to work less on evangelism and far more at campaigning for evangelism amongst existing Chinese congregations. Warned against violating the Chinese right to self-propagation, CIM missionaries were advised to use various tactics to pressure Chinese Protestants into engaging in evangelism. These included the use of prayer, sermonizing, teaching examples, bible teaching, and "occasion" to persuade Chinese Christian communities of the "privilege and duty" of self-propagation. The result was that CIM missionaries were transformed from evangelists of Christianity to the "unevangelized" into zealous promoters of the ideology of pioneer evangelism among the converted. In sum, the CIM's goal in discipleship training or strengthening the churches was to indoctrinate Chinese Christians in the missionary vision.

In addition, CIM missionaries were to become tireless promoters of Christian associations and organizational methods. Teachers on college campuses and missionaries leading English language classes would counsel Christian students on how to form fellowship groups modeled after the Inter-Varsity Fellowship. From there, CIM educators would work to link student fellowship associations across cities and provinces together and oversee evangelistic campaigns and Christian conferences within their home cities

[232] Slideshows from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

and provinces.[233] Other CIM writers proposed that the society transplant the U.S. and British Christian infrastructure of "Sunday Schools, Christian Endeavor Societies, Bible Societies, Bible Institutes, theological colleges," to China as a means to strengthen Chinese Protestantism.[234]

CIM missionaries would also advise Chinese clergy and lay leaders to form church unions. Ideally, the church unions brought together representatives from various Chinese churches to share the burdens of finance, governance, education, and evangelism. Most unions were first organized at the district level before later evolving into county and provincial organizations. As an incentive to encourage the formation of unions, the CIM offered financial support for evangelists and Christian workers employed by the unions.[235]

Unions were prized by the CIM as a means to maximize the resources of Chinese Christians in a given area and allow for greater coordination in evangelism. Kane, the architect of Anhui's evangelical unions, described the development of evangelical church unions as the building blocks for progress and order, "Divine revelation, human history, and personal experience unite in teaching us that progress can be achieved only when order is maintained." He compared the order wrought by the church union's of Anhui to a "well-disciplined army…whether in camp, in battle, or on the march, they maintained perfect order among themselves, and presented a united front to their enemies." [236] Many other voices within the CIM echoed Kane in stressing that the true utility of the unions was in their ability to plot and strategize evangelical Christianity's expansion, and it is

[233] Beatrice Sutherland "Students' Retreat in Langchow," *China's Millions,* March 1945.
[234] D. Bentley-Taylor, "Adolescence of the Church in China,"*China's Millions*, March 1946.
[235] J. Herbet Kane, "One Hundred Church Groups Unite," *China's Millions,* August 1945.
[236] W.A. Allen, "Yunnan Churches Unite," *China's Millions,* June 1945.

clear that they were valued for imparting an aggressive and militaristic mentality to Chinese Christians.[237]

The unions were also prized by the CIM and its supporters as means for Chinese leadership to grow accustomed to self-governance through participatory democracy. The unions were formed voluntarily by agreements between the Chinese churches to meet annually or biannually to discuss problems and projects of spiritual training and evangelism. Each church would elect officers, both Chinese or foreign missionary, to serve as representatives to the union. Additionally, unions were also encouraged by the CIM to draft Declarations of Faith or other constitutional documents declaring the area's agreed upon tenets of faith and beliefs.[238] Such measures were promoted by the CIM as a means to promote doctrinal integrity, but these declarations or constitutions also were prized as acts of spiritual self-determination evident of the Chinese church's path to maturity.[239]

Beyond recognizing sovereignty and addressing inequality, many of the proposed alterations to missionary work also were geared toward resolving older issues raised by indigenization. Debates about the necessity of continued mission work in China had existed since the early twentieth century. The CIM feared that too much emphasis on the primacy of native Christianity meant that financial support for the mission was sure to decline in the home countries. Secondly, among members of the CIM and home countries there existed pervasive doubts about the spiritual and cultural integrity of Protestantism in Chinese hands. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the "sincerity" of Chinese

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[237] J. Herbet Kane, "One Hundred Church Groups Unite," *China's Millions,* August 1945./ Mrs. Frank England, "A Church Council Meets for Business," *China's Millions*, September 1945.
[238] J. Herbet Kane, "One Hundred Church Groups Unite," *China's Millions,* August 1945.
[239] John R. Sinton, "The Mission's Relationship to the Chinese Churches," *China's Millions,* November 1945.

Christians was constantly perceived as suspect. Under the sovereignty of the Chinese churches, would the "progress" the CIM had invested in continue to transform Chinese society? Would the evangelization of China continue under the auspices of Chinese Protestant leadership?

Ultimately, these new roles and assignments were intended to answer these questions by demonstrating that missionary mobility could both support Chinese self-determination and ensure that the trajectory of Christianity's growth and spread in society would not deviate dramatically from the path charted by missions under the leadership of Chinese Protestants. New roles as bible teachers, educators, and church builders were intended to mark the missionary's mobility as a source facilitating Chinese sovereignty and growth. Although the CIM had ceded the right to lead evangelization to Chinese leadership, the mission planned to reorganize and relocate members to be placed within key areas in society to capitalize on the missionary's greater social mobility and influence among the educated, urban, and official classes of China. Added to that the society would focus on transplanting evangelical organizations and structures to China.

Either as bible teachers or evangelists under the authority of the various institutions and organizations, the CIM missionaries continued to enjoy a wide freedom to move about the nation. As educators the missionary's mobility produced ideas about political and spiritual tutelage. The CIM emphasis on teaching, training, and equipping Chinese Protestants for leadership in the churches reflected more than just spiritual training but a desire to teach Chinese on how to use autonomy, freedom, and sovereignty.

From "Pioneers" to "Open Doors"

The pervading symbol of this transition from pioneer evangelism to indigenous practices was references in CIM publications to "open doors."[240] This metaphor was often repeated by missionaries in the pages of *China's Millions* and part of the title of the society's yearly anthology for 1945, *Wide Open Doors*.[241] Speakers such as J. Herbert Kane and U.S. Home Director Robert Griffin employed the rhetoric of "open doors" to explain "the New Era in China" at the society's annual conferences in 1945 in New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, Illinois, New Jersey, and Washington, D.C.[242] From 1945 to 1949, this language of "open doors" covered a number of movements by the CIM missionaries in the postwar era: survey teams reaching out to Chinese congregations, reoccupation of abandoned posts, the return of missionaries from furlough and arrival of new recruits in the postwar years, and the missionary engaged in the activities of evangelism, church-building, and "specialized work."

Similar to the pioneer/frontier mythology, the metaphor of "open doors" appropriated U.S. political values and myths and yet again flexed these meanings to include various groups across the Christian moral empire. The Open Door Policy, a diplomatic agenda promoted by Washington Administrations since the late 19th century to argue for equal trade and commercial access in China, was understood by many Americans as an effort to safeguard Chinese sovereignty and territorial integrity while advancing U.S. interests. Essentially, "open doors" was an expression of U.S. anti-

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[240] Lily Snyder, "Children Open the Doors," *China's Millions,* August 1945.
[241] China Inland Mission, *Wide Open Doors: The Story of the Year 1946* (Philadelphia: China Inland Mission, 1947)
[242] Advertisement for CIM Annual Conferences, *China's Millions,* October 1945.

imperialism and a foundation of the belief in a "special-relationship" between the Chinese and Americans.[243]

"Open doors" as deployed by the CIM produced a number of ideas about postwar China and the missionary's mobility. First, the missionary now traveled at the invitation of many groups in Chinese society and with respect to the authority of both the Chinese churches and the government. Also the language conveyed a sense of "openness" to the missionary's influence as well in the postwar era. This was stressed in the survey reports of the postwar era. Missionaries reporting on the conditions in Jiangxi stated that everywhere the CIM team went their arrival was met with celebration. In the city of Loping the CIM team was met by throngs of Chinese Christians, "we gave no warning of our arrival…but it was not long before Christians knew and, one after another, they came to great us. Then, because we couldn't go from house to house to eat, they brought so much food in to us that they nearly destroyed our digestions!"[244] By applying the language of "open doors" to the missionary's postwar return, CIM supporters understood the missionary's return and investment in the nation's postwar recovery as almost universally welcomed by Chinese. Not only were the missions welcomed, but the Chinese eagerly anticipated the return of missions.

This symbol of Sino-Foreign Protestant relations built the impression that the changes in the mission's philosophy and the wartime experiences of the Chinese had eradicated the social barriers and hostility that had once limited the missionary's mobility. Additional surveys stated that throughout the region the missionaries' arrival

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[243] Michael H. Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983)
[244] China Inland Mission, *Wide Open Doors: The Story of the Year 1946* (Philadelphia: China Inland Mission, 1947)

was met with packed evangelistic services. Opportunities to preach in military camps, hospitals, and prisons followed the CIM missionaries everywhere they went. The report concluded that "not only is the door wide open, but it even resembles the situation when Jericho's walls fell down flat." This particular missionary predicted that CIM missionaries returning to the field would find "they didn't need to enter open doors; there were no more gates! Where they wished to enter they could. That seems to be the condition almost everywhere in the province."[245] This rhetoric also produced ideas about Chinese desire for and receptivity to evangelical and foreign influence. Frequently, missionaries made claims that Chinese society was far more "open" to Christianity than ever before, a claim that was frequently issued in past eras, but now seemingly had the added validation of the missionary's reception by the state and general society.

Rather than constrained by Chinese sovereignty then, the image of "open doors" produced the impression that the missionary's mobility was augmented by its "special relationship" to the Chinese. Certainly, after 1945 the CIM frequently implied that their work was often facilitated by Chinese state power and the military. CIM publications credited the GMD with liberating "millions of souls" in Xinjiang and Tibet from "spiritual oppression" by allowing the CIM to work in these regions after 1945. This impression was reinforced by the correlation between the geography of GMD governance and missionary mobility. Evangelicals watched anxiously the race between the militaries of the GMD and CCP to occupy areas vacated by the Japanese Imperial Army following the conclusion of the Asia-Pacific War. CIM supporters equated the return of GMD

[245] China Inland Mission, *Wide Open Doors: The Story of the Year 1946* (Philadelphia: China Inland Mission, 1947), p. 27.

control to these areas as a "green light" for missionaries to re-enter these areas and resume mission work.

This association between GMD control and mission work was also created by publicity given to the assistance of the GMD in returning CIM teams to their posts. CIM publications credited the GMD with aiding in their postwar return, "it was mainly owing to the remarkable courtesy of the Chinese government that, at a time when Government officials and others, in their hundreds of thousands, were seeking transport down-river from Chungking, our staff was allotted sufficient berths" on the very few airplanes and steamships headed east in 1945.[246] As the CIM returned along to evacuated fields the GMD provide a powerful ally in securing transportation and repossessing property. Other reports stressed the role of military and GMD officials in clearing obstacles and preparing for the missionary's return. In Zhejiang, two missionaries wrote that a church building returned to the mission by Chinese soldiers had been "completely cleaned, benches repaired, new posters and scrolls pasted up."[247] The mission thanked the GMD for continuing to guarantee the missionary's privileged mobility and access to governmental support.

This privileged mobility and "openness" included unprecedented access to the government and military. The GMD regime appeared as a partner in the efforts of the CIM and Pocket Testament League's distribution of gospel tracts to the armed forces. The GMD was especially praised for helping the society evangelize to troops and among the nation's youth in the Volunteer Army. Traveling in a U.S. army truck loaded with thousands of New Testaments and gospel tracts, the three man team of CIM worker John

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[246] China Inland Mission, *Rising Tide: The Story of the Year* (Philadelphia: China Inland Mission, 1946),p. 12.
[247] Dorothy Buegler and Elizabeth Wimer, "Re-occupation of Chekiang," *China's Millions*, August 1946.

Muir, U.S. evangelist and former football star Glenn Wagner, and Chinese evangelist Harry Liu visited scores of army camps, barracks, and military parades across the country at the behest of the GMD. [248] Where GMD forces swept across the nation after 1945, so followed CIM missionaries distributing tracts and preaching to troops and officers. Thus, evangelicals understood the GMD as a force responsible for making new areas and ethnic groups more accessible to the missionary on the frontier as well as the means by which the missionary received invitation to the nation's official classes. This coupled with the CIM's frequent references to the prominence of Chinese Christians within the GMD and, of course, Jiang Jiehsi's well-known faith seemingly augured an era in which a Chinese sovereign regime augmented, rather than threatened, the mobility of missionaries.

The idea of a "special relationship" forged via indigenous principles was especially important as the society traded in the geographic expanse of the "frontier" for the greater social mobility of "specialized" work. Houghton had expressed this idea in 1943 when he claimed the pioneer spirit had led at times resulted in "lone missionaries, dispersed as widely as possible until the value of their work is in inverse ratio to the extent of the ground they cover!"[249] In contrast, Houghton believed indigenization would be akin to the CIM functioning as a "Foreign Legion…by means of teams with bases in strategic centers."[250] Traveling amongst social classes previously associated with hostility to the CIM's brand of evangelicalism: the educated, professionals, and elites, "open doors" communicated a sense that the CIM had found a foothold with those groups charting China's future.

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[248] John Muir, "24,000 Men Given the Gospel," *China's Millions,* September 1946.
[249] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.
[250] General Director Frank Houghton, "The Pattern Shown," *China's Millions,* February 1944.

Numerous times CIM publications credited the success of their evangelistic activities to favors and social connections from Chinese Christians in positions of power and influence in the government and society in general. CIM publications credited Chinese printers and editors with helping the society expand its publishing and distribution of Christian literature. In other areas, leading Chinese Protestants in urban areas loaned the CIM buildings and spaces on college campuses for evangelistic services.

The idea of missionaries moving through "open doors" then answered questions about whether Chinese sovereignty, political and spiritual, would constrain or alter the missionary endeavor. Although the missionary's privileged mobility was no longer immune to the sovereignty of Asian groups, the rhetoric of "open doors" created the impression that the entire nation remained accessible to the missionaries and their agenda. If anything, the missionary had obtained a far greater mobility through the "special relationships" it would forge with the new classes receptive to evangelicalism.

Lastly, the ideology of "open doors" created the sense that the mission could escape the imperialist past and errors of the previous era. Houghton was not alone in seeing the pioneer era as deficient in terms of respect for indigenous principles. Marguerite Goodner Owen recalled that in Chinese Christians in Honan in the 1930s often referred to missionaries as "kings" or "pharaohs" and she considered the mission-church relationship to be "paternalistic" and "colonial" in nature. A common joke among the Chinese pastors in Honan had been that five missionary "kings" ruled all church affairs and evangelism across the province. When in 1947 she returned to Kunming, Yunnan she found her work to be far different than the "old colonial days." Now, she and her husband Harry Owen received their assignments from the local evangelical church

board, pastors, and deacons, "why, whatever they wanted us to do, that's what we did."[251] Certainly, the changes enacted by the CIM after 1943 created the impression among its members that the "colonial" past had been left behind.

This is not to suggest that the CIM was able to complete such a transformation. As scholar Oi Ki Ling notes about British missionaries, "Although pressures to hand over responsibility to Chinese Christians were too strong too ignore, the paternalism of the missionaries died hard…At the end of the war, missionaries were still arbiters of doctrine, the source of power, and paymasters of Chinese Christians."[252] From 1945 to 1952, Ling notes that although numerous changes were proposed the actual implementation of indigenous principles was uneven, timetables for the transfer of authority or property rights were ill-defined, and some aspects of Chinese authority was directly opposed by missions.[253] The same was true of the CIM, as there is evidence that in many communities missionaries and Chinese Christians struggled over many of these same issues.

This was in part because missionary mobility, despite the CIM's reforms and ideals, simultaneously undermined the authority of Chinese Protestants. While nominally missionaries such as David Adeney served under the auspices of Chinese evangelicals like Calvin Chao, conflicts arose as Chao charged that Adeney and General Director Houghton frequently usurped his authority within the China Inter-Varsity Fellowship,

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[251] Collection 534, T4. Interview of Marguerite Owen by Bob Shuster, June 6, 1997.
[252] Oi Ki Ling, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), p. 51.
[253] Oi Ki Ling, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1999), p.66-72.

making him a mere figurehead.[254] While Houghton and Adeney would deny that this specific struggle for power ever occurred, the missionary's return to the field and integration with Chinese Christian churches and institutions undermined the authority and equality of Chinese evangelicals in a number of ways.

Firstly, CIM surveys and reports on the conditions of churches produced by missionaries heading back to the field created a sense of Chinese Christian impotence in leading society's evangelization without the aid of the missionary. In Zhejiang the superintendent's report had also stressed that the province's city churches were "very weak" and "vast majority of believers illiterate and spiritual truths scant."[255] Additional missionary surveys of Shanxi, Guizhou, and Anhui in the late 1940s referred to Chinese Christian leadership as "weak" and criticized them for making "little progress." In fact, many of the evangelical churches were described as "mostly small and backward." Other surveys blamed Chinese Christians for refusing to take on the financial burden of self-support, while in Hunan many Chinese workers remained employed by the mission well into the late 1940s. That the provincial Chinese churches would not assume the financial responsibility for these workers led the CIM superintendent to conclude that Chinese leaders in the region did not take the concept of self-support "seriously."[256]

In fact, reports on the status of evangelism in many regions created a grave sense of concern for the future. In Sichuan steps taken toward Chinese self-government had

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[254] Interview with Paul Contento by Robert D. Schuster, December 9 1992, Collection 474, T2 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

[255] China Council Notes, January 27 1945, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

[256] China Council Notes, January 29 1947, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

seen "great progress," but simultaneously the CIM worried that "the Church has hardly woken up to its responsibility for evangelization."[257] Across Sichuan survey reports in 1945 indicated that eleven counties out of thirty were entirely "without witness," evangelistic activities in most cities "sporadic," and proselytizing in the countryside "almost negligible." The lack of an effort in rural areas was especially worrisome since the report stated that though the countryside was "vast" it was also "thickly populated" with over 600 markets "unevangelized" by Chinese Christians.[258] Ultimately, the expectations of the CIM ultimately became a source of dissatisfaction and tension with many Chinese churches as the society worried that Chinese failed to have the zeal necessary for pioneering the faith.

Secondly, the CIM's insistence upon the three-selfs meant that many of the expenses of the Sino-Foreign Protestant community were transferred to Chinese Protestants. Achieving self-support as society and many Chinese families recovered from years of war, dislocation, and struggled with unprecedented inflation was an incredibly difficult task for Chinese congregations to undertake in the postwar years. To finance the church, some Chinese congregations were advised to introduce "special collections" designed to take grain offerings from members of the church.[259] Scholars such as Ryan Dunch have suggested that the transfer of property and mission-owned buildings

[257] China Inland Mission, *Rising Tide,* p. 21
[258] China Council Notes, April 6 1945 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; China Inland Mission, *Rising Tide,* p. 57.
[259] J. Herbert Kane, "One Hundred Church Groups Unite," *China's Millions,* August 1945.

burdened these communities by placing "heavy millstones tied to the necks" of Chinese Protestants.[260]

What I would add is that the CIM's insistence on Chinese churches maintaining a vigorous evangelism fastened an additional "millstone" to Chinese evangelicals at a vulnerable time. Evangelism required time, energy, planning, labor, and additional financial resources, often from very small communities of believers, that were already scare in a nation recovering from one war and entering another. Although it was hoped that evangelism would increase the size of congregations and, thereby, increase their resources and lighten their loads in terms of service, the extent to which the CIM pushed Chinese Christians to evangelize was just as likely to leave them exhausted, materially and physically. But for many Chinese Christian communities self-propagation was not seen as essential to Christianity or the evangelical identity.[261] Thus, the CIM's attempt to transfer the ethos and obligations of pioneer evangelism to Chinese evangelicals created numerous arguments and conflicts. And where Chinese congregations failed to meet these lofty and costly expectations, the CIM and its agents became increasingly pessimistic about the qualities and capabilities of Chinese Christian sovereignty and equality.

Primarily, though, the society's efforts at integration and cooperation with Chinese churches created direct challenges to both the indigenous program and Chinese evangelical leadership from within the mission. One of the most scathing critiques came from H.E. Knight, in an article for *China's Millions* that proposed to offer readers "a

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[260] Ryan Dunch, *Fuzhou Protestants and the Making of a Modern China, 1857-1927* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).

[261] Creighton Lacy, "The Missionary Exodus from China," *Pacific Affairs,* Vol. 28, No. 4 (Dec. 1955): pp. 309.

clear presentation" of the "more somber side" of the indigenous program. In China's northwest provinces, Knight claimed that Chinese Christianity was plagued by the "shadows" of poverty, traditional culture, internal conflicts and disputes, and society's "new worldliness."[262] From his posts, he had observed that these "shadows" led the churches in Gansu, Qinghai, and Ningxia to "shirk responsibility" for itinerating and evangelism.[263]

Knight wrote that among the nation's cities and youth nation's he observed that a "new worldliness" had an even more powerful call among the nation's youth than evangelical Christianity. Knight agreed that the war had changed the minds of many Chinese high school and college students about Christianity and acknowledged the emergence of a nucleus of "gifted, consecrated" men and women ready to serve as evangelists, pastors, and lay leaders. But he also felt it necessary to reign in expectations. Even among deeply religious Christian youth, few were willing to devote their lives to spiritual work. In the northwest, Knight suggested that only "three or four volunteers out of eighty churches" planned to enter into careers as clergy or evangelists. Instead, much of the CIM's newfound appeal among youth and professional classes reflected that the "modern education" available from Christian missions and institutions was viewed as a means to greater status and wealth.[264]

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[262] The missionary also charged the new philosophy with spreading internal conflicts and infighting among congregations. Much of the blame for this issue Kane laid at the feet of wholly independent Chinese Christian groups, whom he cited as "pseudo-pentecostal disturbances invading the church" and leaving "in their wake churches divided and broken, scarcely able to lift their heads before a derisive word." Overall, Knight claimed that the spread of groups such as the Little Flock contributed toward an "exclusiveness and partisan spirit" that led Chinese congregations into isolation from neighboring congregations. H.E. Knight, "Shadows over the Northwest," *China's Millions*, September 1946.
[263] H.E. Knight, "Shadows over the Northwest," *China's Millions*, September 1946.
[264] H.E. Knight, "Shadows over the Northwest," *China's Millions*, September 1946.

He also cautiously addressed the expectations that the creation of "New China" bolstered the evangelical movement, pointing to how recovery and modernization was exhausting the resources and energy of its people in underdeveloped regions. He claimed the majority of men, women, and children "slaved" away each day working from before dawn until after sunset in order to survive. Worse, he saw society's postwar rebuilding as a drain on the energy and resources of most Chinese families, not the source of its uplift, "the remaining men-folk and animals have been impressed for forced labor on the roads, railways, and airfields of New China, and for portage of military supplies." Widespread poverty and illiteracy to Knight suggested that even the most vigilant of saints would have little time to attend church, let alone contribute to its growth and expansion through evangelism. Overall, Knight did not see that "New China" as a place suffused by the evangelical spirit, and, worse, he thought the nation's recovery and modernization left many Chinese without the energy to strengthen the churches.

Knight was most critical of the Chinese churches and their leadership under the indigenous principles. He wrote that the Chinese cultural conventions of "face," which he labeled "lying" and a "device of the devil," was ubiquitous within Chinese congregations. The result was that "unspiritual men" manipulated self-government to rise to the head of churches as deacons and elders based on their wealth and status in the community. Equally troubling was that the sanctity of Protestantism was under attack from Chinese cultural traditions and rival religions, as he accused Chinese Christians of expressing their faith in a ritualistic and artificial fashion based similar to Buddhism. Further, traditional Chinese customs such as "extravagant" celebrations of Chinese weddings,

funerals, and church holidays dominated church financing and practices such as arranged marriages continued under the guises of the church.[265]

Critics like Knight demonstrated a growing despair and disillusionment among the missionary force with Chinese Christian leadership and the promise of the indigenous principles. Deploying racialized tropes about Chinese as prone to corruption, deceit, and deeply susceptible to superstitious and idolatrous practices, he suggested that too much Chinese authority would lead to the ruination of evangelical Christianity. Consequently, Knight reified ideas about the missionary as a force policing and surveilling Chinese Christians, checking their autonomy and freedom when necessary, and giving voice to doubts about the readiness of Chinese for spiritual self-determination.

These doubts were also reflected in CIM representations of missionary's engaged in discipleship training that made it seem as if Chinese Christians were unaccustomed to exercising autonomy. One such report on the Chinese churches in Sichuan province near the city of Suyung illustrates this issue. Here, to facilitate church building among new congregations CIM missionaries passed along translated documents from a conference of missionaries in Sichuan that outlined general guidelines for doctrinal beliefs, administration, and structure of evangelical churches. When showing U.S. audiences how Chinese formed a church the CIM demonstrated that Chinese evangelicals simply

[265] As a result, he displayed serious doubts about whether or not Chinese Christians had the time, energy, and education needed to fulfill the church's rights and obligations. Altogether he feared that the decision was sure to thrive as he considered many Chinese Christians to be only very recently free of "heathenism" and "idolatry," and vulnerable to the "onslaughts of the enemy" who would "not easily relinquish his rights over a country where he has reigned unopposed for generations." Added to the sins he witnessed were a complete lack of church "discipline" in piety and devotion and problems in self-governance and financing. Knight also credited the Chinese cultural heritage with generating a failure-family education. H.E. Knight, "Shadows over the Northwest," *China's Millions*, September 1946. The result he stated was that the devotional life and spirituality of Chinese Christians suffered from their constant privation and vulnerability to natural disasters and rampant social problems. Dorothy Buegler and Elizabeth Wimer, "Re-occupation of Chekiang," *China's Millions*, August 1946.

translated the document and held a congregation referendum on its adoption as the church's charter. After the referendum, CIM missionaries then proceeded to direct the church through the election of its officers. In fact, Chinese churches like the evangelicals of Suyung appeared in CIM publications to lack the will, desire, know-how, and resources to exercise self-governance without the guidance of missionaries.[266] Thus, Chinese spiritual self-determination was dependent on the missionary, not independent from him or her.

Ultimately, the ideology of "open doors" continued to associate the missionary's mobility with meanings about freedom, progress, and spirituality. However, it also remade the missionary into a symbol of support for Chinese spiritual self-determination, necessary to postwar recovery and nation building. In the new roles and assignments, the CIM and its supporters equated missionary mobility with the expression and fulfillment of Chinese ambitions and desires such as societal recovery, spiritual growth, and nation building. But the society also deflected concerns about imperialism or foreign dominance of Chinese by labeling the missionary's mobility as part of a "special relationship" which supported Chinese sovereignty. In return, the CIM reassured supporters that the missionary had not lost position or privilege or found its mobility constrained by the authority of the church or state, but in fact enjoyed even greater mobility and freedom under Chinese sovereignty.

In the end, however, the return of the CIM missionary and his or her integration helped create the sense that Chinese Christians were incapable of exercising spiritual sovereignty, at least without the aid of the missionary. And ultimately, this perceived

[266] Robert Small, "Suyung Church Takes a Step Forward," *China's Millions*, January 1946.

failure colored the CIM's response to the victory of the CCP in 1949, as the decision to remain in the field revealed that the society believed that Chinese Christianity could not weather the challenge of communism without the direct assistance of the international missionary movement. Instead, the CIM leadership decided in 1949 to model for Chinese evangelicals how to confront a communist state.

Conclusion

How then to make sense of the CIM as an international organization with a strong following among U.S. Protestant evangelicals? My analysis suggests that at least for the proponents and members of this society, this compulsion was not so much an "American" as a shared international paradox found within the international Protestant Christian community. And while Ruble argues the missionary was a symbol of American expansion and power after 1945, it is my contention that the CIM missionary was more a figure that portended the extension of an international order, religious in nature, and its power to shape the future of societies such as China.

Second, the embrace of indigenization, even with its limits, displays evidence of the CIM's trust in Chinese sovereignty and its exercise, spiritually and politically, as legitimate. These changes wrought by indigenization after 1943 also portended new meanings for Chinese Christian mobility. Essentially, the CIM promoted the idea that the missionary was increasingly in a secondary role, as the activities of Chinese as evangelists gained greater significance within the Christian moral empire. And the CIM worked to sell Protestant evangelicals on the idea that the mobility of Chinese Christians carried with it the same meanings as the mobility of the missionaries. Key to this project was the representation of Chinese as assuming and fulfilling the activities of pioneer

evangelism being phased out by the CIM. Through shared practices of movement as Chinese and foreign Protestants, missionary mobility was intended to signify cooperation, equality, and shared values across national and racial boundaries in the projects of moral uplift, progress, evangelism, and even postwar recovery and state building.

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Chapter 3

Immobilization and Expulsion: The Missionary Exodus and Sino-American Relations

Introduction: *Hope for China*

In 1949 the CIM produced its first motion picture film, *Hope for China*, featuring footage from Dr. Ford L. Canfield's tour of the field and prepared by the Moody Institute of Science. A popular deputation speaker for the North American Council, he arrived in Shanghai in December 1948 and set out for the west with an escort in a jeep to travel to various mission stations and outposts across the country. Canfield took footage of the CIM's work in colleges and cities such as Nanjing, but also featured scenes from a lamasery in Tibet, "nomads" of Qinghai, the famed Burma Road and groups like the Lisu and Miao in Yunnan.[267]

After it was finished, the film circulated audiences from the U.S. to South Africa and was made available in both English and Chinese. Largely bringing the pages and themes of *China's Millions* to life, *Hope for China* portrayed China as a society riven by poverty and idolatry, steeped in superstition and facing immense geographic and social challenges to master on its path to modernity and nation building. Scenes of farmers working terraced rice fields, and laborers hauling bricks and stones on established the idea of Chinese as burdened both physically and spiritually and were accompanied by questions for the viewer, "How would you like to carry 160 pound so of salt up steep mountains all day or follow the water buffalo?" In contrast to the nation's "unevangelized

[267] *Hope for China,* (1949) from from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

millions," missionaries working with Chinese Christians and churches were situated as virile, pious, modern, and progressive leaders in the nation's spiritual development.[268]

However, the meanings of the film were irrevocably altered by the CCP's triumph in 1949. By the time Canfield arrived in China to start his tour Northern China was quickly coming under CCP rule, and when the film was released the narrative and images were revised to fit a tone of defiance to communism. Featuring images of the China IVF and CIM missionaries holding conferences at various colleges, the film urged Christian evangelicals to pray fervently or else "Will the opportunity of recent years be lost?" *Hope for China* warned that these students and their contemporaries were sure to be targeted by the CCP for indoctrination and would face great political and social pressure, as would the rest of society.[269]

Ending with the scene of twenty-two CIM missionaries boarding a steamship in San Francisco, *Hope for China* insisted that despite communism's victory the missionary's commission from God was the same. Noting that there was "rarely a time when all that land at peace," the film proclaimed a "soldier's life is not his own, belongs to his king…that is why I am going to China."[270] As it had done in the past during times of political uncertainty and hostility toward foreign missions, CIM leadership in Shanghai opted to "sit-out" communism's victory and keep missionaries at their posts. Thus, *Hope for China* staked out the CIM's claim that only God, not the CCP, could force the mission to close its doors. Rather, the CIM missionary would endeavor to stand by Chinese

[268] *Hope for China*, (1949) from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[269] *Hope for China*, (1949) from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[270] *Hope for China*, (1949) from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

Christians during this crisis and encourage their resistance to any infringement from the state.

As the majority of Protestant missions abandoned China in 1949 the CIM's refusal to withdraw added to the prestige the society enjoyed among the international Protestant community. U.S. newspapers like the *Portland Press Herald* referred to CIM members in the 1950s as "the indomitable who stuck to their guns when the Red wave swept across China."[271] CIM speaking engagements in U.S. cities also featured the film *Hope for China*, a portrait of "the progress of Christian missions in the face of Communist advances," pitting the CIM work against the CCP's in a scramble for the hearts and minds of China.[272] Indeed, for much of 1949 the CIM promoted the idea that despite the great challenges facing the missionary by staying the society hoped to prove God's sovereignty over all nations. With its entire force still in the field throughout 1950, the General Director urged prayer circles on to even more fervent prayers, "Do your prayer helpers appreciate that our staying on at such a time is utter madness—*unless it is at God's command?*"[273] As an institution, the CIM embraced the crisis with a strong faith that God never allow the "loss" of China to the missionary movement.

That Chinese Christians wanted the missionary movement to remain was an idea that received great attention from the CIM. In December 1948, Chinese Christian leaders gathered in Shanghai drafted an exhortation for the missionary to remain in China, a message sent to Protestant societies around the country. Spokesman such as Liang Xiaochu, general-secretary of the National Committee of the YMCA in China, went even

[271] "Guest Speaker" *Portland Press Herald,* 29 March 1950, p. 18.
[272] "Colored Movies Scheduled for Pollock Pines Church," *Mountain Democrat*, 2 February 1950, p. 2.; "Women's Bible Society" *Oakland Tribune,* 19 February 1950, p. 42.
[273] "Panorama of 1949," *China's Millions,* January 1950.

further in that same month stating that Chinese Christians were ready and willing to suffer to maintain the ecumenical principle with the missionary at their side.[274] As the filmstrip for *Hope for China* traveled CIM networks outside China this was a prominent theme, and the film worked as an inventory of all the groups the CIM missionary identified with and stood alongside to face communism together.

Much like the Truman administration, prior to the Korean War the CIM first sought accommodation with the CCP, and then turned to hostile defiance to its recognition and legitimacy. The society's hold out in the CCP was short lived and by 1951 the CIM was forced to issue a call to evacuate the field. The reversal had been forced by the CCP's increasingly tight control over the activities of the missionary, most importantly their mobility, and an escalating societal and political pressure on missionaries as imperialists. With the eruption of war in Korea the missionary's presence in China allowed the CCP a valuable tool for ideological mobilization of the masses toward anti-imperialism. Increasingly, Chinese Christian voices contributed to the missionary's condemnation as an imperialist and a national movement known as the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) severed ties with the international community as a means to achieve independence and loyalty to the CCP.

Forced to physically abandon China, the CIM worked to ensure throughout the 1950s and 1960s that Chinese Christians would never be spiritually left behind by the international evangelical community. As scholars such as William Inboden have shown, debates about the PRC and diplomatic recognition or containment in the U.S. were based upon the experiences of China missionaries and their own personal relations with the

[274] Oi Ki Ling. *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999):pp. 94.

CCP, GMD, and the Chinese people.[275] Conversely, the CIM's activities in the 1950s and 1960s demonstrate how the international evangelical community influenced many U.S. evangelicals to oppose the CCP and TSPM by focusing on the missionary's immobilization and expulsion and concern for the fate of Chinese Christians in a communist state.

After the exodus praying for Chinese Christians involved CIM supporters in a fraternity of anti-communist social and political organizations in the Cold War, making the ideologies of containment and anti-communism apart of daily religious expression. Angela Lahr's *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares* documents how in the 1950s and 1960s prayer served as important expression of citizenship and religious identity in the U.S., especially as a means by which Protestants believed they could influence world events by imploring for God's protection and guidance.[276] In their commentary on the fate of Chinese Christians, the CIM became an influential member of the U.S.'s community of Christian anti-communist activists, which included the Committee of One Million, a large body of recently returned ex-China missionaries, and the infamous China Lobby. Through prayer for Chinese Christians the CIM intended to mobilize spiritual resistance to communism in the international community and direct it toward the aid of Chinese Protestants.

However, the missionary's immobilization and expulsion by the CCP and the focus on the suffering and persecution of Chinese Christians gave rise to profound spiritual and racial anxieties. The missionary's expulsion raised a host of spiritual

[275] William Inboden, "To Save China: Protestant Missionaries and Sino-American Relations," from*Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: The Soul of Containment* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)
[276] Lahr, "Bombarding Evangelicals," from *Millennial Dreams and Apocalyptic Nightmares,* p. 32-68.

questions. Was the last hundred years of the missionary endeavor in China all for nothing? How could God be sovereign over all nations and yet seemingly allow millions upon millions of Chinese to die without a chance to hear the gospel? In confronting these questions the CIM tried to balance between heightening awareness of the plight of Chinese Christians in the PRC and sustaining the hope that evangelicals in China could keep the faith alive despite immense pressure and persecution.

Adding to these anxieties were racial fears generated by the CIM's telling of the exodus narrative. Studies of Cold War culture has discussed and analyzed a host of fears from atomic war and communist subversion and infiltration of American life produced by international events after 1945.[277] I want to suggest another set of fearful fantasies produced by stories of the missionary's immobilization and expulsion in China. Mainly that of a post-colonial world where white mobility was no longer privileged and unlimited but subject to intimidation, harassment, and control by non-white regimes and societies overtaken by hyper-nationalism. In sum, the exodus narrative gave flight to anxieties about the emergence of an Asia where whites were subjected to the same machinations of state power scrutinizing the mobility of foreign minorities that Asians experienced in the west.

Immobilization and Expulsion

[277] For examples see Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998); Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992)

From Shanghai, the CIM Headquarters Staff watched in shock in 1948 and 1949 as GMD resistance evaporated against the onslaught of the People's Liberation Army (PLA). Correspondence between Shanghai and the North American Council in Philadelphia in late 1948 and early 1949 demonstrates the surprise and dismay of the Headquarters with GMD defeats at Kaifeng, Tianjin, and Shanghai. The society was particularly disheartened by the ease with which the GMD was ousted from its "impenetrable" position in Kaifeng and the largely peaceful turnover in Shanghai, a city the GMD had promised to defend "to the last man." However, the headquarters did rejoice that in most major cities like Beijing, Tianjin, Nanjing, and Shanghai the limited fighting and quick transitions had led to little loss of human life and a return to normalcy that allowed missionary work to resume shortly thereafter.[278]

Throughout 1948 and 1949 the CIM adopted a policy of neutrality and avoided commentary on the war as much as possible. Only infrequently did mission reports and publications feature references to the fighting with vague allusions to "serious environment" facing the Sino-Protestant Christian community.[279] But the advance of the PLA startled the CIM into rallying its followers to engage in spiritual warfare through days of prayer featuring advertisements emblazoned with the word, "ATTACK!" in the pages of *China's Millions*. Citing biblical stories of battle against overwhelming odds, the CIM proclaimed that prayer and faith in God could turn the tide of any battle.

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[278] Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to North American Council Signed by John Sinton, July 2 1948; Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to North American Council Signed by John Sinton, June 6 1949; Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to North American Council Signed by John Sinton January 17 1949 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[279] Beatrice Sutherland, "Peiping Students Pray," *China's Millions,* September 1948.

Meanwhile, special tours of the U.S. in the fall of 1948 by General Director Houghton and ally President Chen Chonggui of the CTS rallied Christian evangelicals to the plight of the missionary and Chinese Christian facing a communist revolution. The tour was cut short as the GMD's collapse and uncertainty surrounding the mission's stay in the field forced the return of the General Director in December. [280]

The advance of the PLA in the Chinese Civil War forced the question of evacuation first upon Protestant missions in northern China in the late 1940s. The adjustment to CCP control came first for missionaries in Manchuria, Shanxi, Shaanxi, and Shandong in the early months of 1948. By the fall of that same year, the decision was pressed upon groups in Central China, and the U.S. Consul was urging American citizens in Anhui, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian to leave while facilities and transport was still available. Especially after the fall of Tianjin in January 1949, a wave of missionary personnel from other societies withdrew from the interior provinces and gathered in Shanghai. By the beginning of 1949 the majority of Protestant missions were pulling personnel out of China, with over 2000 missionaries and their families departing in a span from late 1948 through the spring of 1949. Other societies planned to remove personnel from remote areas and gather their forces in larger cities or leave behind only a small skeleton staff to conduct operations.

As the likelihood of a communist victory became more apparent General Director Houghton remained adamant in the CIM's commitment to remain under communist occupation. Houghton wrote "evidence is multiplying" that the CCP will "show kindness to missionary and foreigner" and "whatever happens the people of China still need the

[280] "Touring US with Wife in Fall of '48," *China's Millions,* October 1948.

Gospel." But the General Director argued against the idea "gaining currency" in the international community that any regime would be better than the GMD as the missionary movement would "lose great opportunities" in the arena of evangelism if the CCP came to power. He implored the home audiences to continue their prayers and insisted that God might intervene before the CCP could gain control over the whole country.[281]

The CIM remained steadfast in committing its forces to business as usual, keeping the society's agents at their posts scattered across the nation. In fact, despite a number of popular leaders in the field like J. Herbert Kane and Dick Hillis resigning from the mission when the decision to stay in China was announced in 1949 the overall force of the CIM grew by a net gain of forty missionaries.[282] Defiantly, the society even sent reinforcements to the field with declarations that the missionary went forth with God as its "Shield and our Defender." This cohort of junior missionaries known as the "49ers" was hailed by the CIM as a nothing short of a miracle as the CCP made it clear that entry to China by foreigners would be limited primarily to experts in fields such as medicine or technical specialists.[283] Even more controversial was the Shanghai administration's decision to continue schooling for missionary children in Guling, prompting criticism from the society's Norwegian and Swedish affiliates. Statements from the General Director to U.S. evangelicals reiterated that missionaries could not await political stability to heed God's call. CIM missionaries were ready and willing for sacrifice,

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[281] Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to North American Council Signed by General Director Houghton, December 30 1948 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[282] "Panorama of 1949," *China's Millions,* January 1950.
[283] Oi Ki Ling. *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999): pp. 113.

according to Houghton, and he urged Christians in the home country to "Join the battle with us!"[284]

Complicating matters for the society's later withdrawal was that while other Protestant societies congregated their forces in major cities near the coast, the CIM's forces remained at their posts scattered across the country. In early 1950, CIM missionaries occupied hundreds of different cities and rural village outposts in over thirteen different provinces mostly distributed across the northwest, west, and southern areas of the PRC. Of the over 700 CIM missionaries still residing in the PRC, the largest distributions of CIM forces were located in Sichuan (145 members and affiliates), Jiangsu (107), and Jiangxi (79). A sizeable portion of the CIM's forces worked in the northwest, with over fifty members and affiliates in both Gansu and Ningxia. In addition to Sichuan, over 80 CIM missionaries were spread across territories in Qinghai, Yunnan, Guizhou, Tibet, and Xinjiang. But the civil war and communist control in the early years of the war left many CIM stations in north and central China unoccupied.[285]

The CIM's decision to remain was especially brazen considering its own history with the CCP since the 1930s. Of course, the CCP's ideological tenets of communism, atheism, and anti-imperialism caused the CIM great alarm, but the society also feared the potential violence the CCP could inflict upon missionaries. In 1934 the society gained international attention when a young missionary couple, John and Betty Stam, were seized and executed by beheading by communist soldiers. Not long after, another CIM

[284] Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to North American Council Signed by General Director Houghton, December 30 1948 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[285]Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to North American Council, January 9 1950 Signed by John Sinton, December 30 1948; *CIM Prayer Directory* (1950) from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

member Aflred Broomhall was taken captive by the CCP and forced to accompany them along the Long March. Both episodes had become the subject of popular CIM publications in the 1930s and inspired evangelical hostility toward the CCP and communism in Asia. During the Second World War, there were occasional instances that called for alarm in areas occupied by the communist forces, and in northern China CIM missionaries reported that communist-occupied areas witnessed tightening restrictions or outright prohibition on Christian worship and evangelism.[286]

However, the society also hoped that the CCP had modified its policies toward Christianity and Christian missions. A small number of CIM missionaries involved in medical work actually found support for their work among Red Army officers and CCP officials.[287] Further, the CCP's United Front policy had created alliances with many prominent Chinese Protestants.[288] At best, the CCP policies toward Christianity were ambivalent if not tolerant and varied greatly according to geography, but did little to change the CIM impression of the CCP as a danger to the Christian community.[289]

The decision of the CIM to remain in China after 1949 was based upon on many different factors but ultimately grounded in the conviction that the CCP's victory was a test of faith. As such the CIM would not leave the Chinese Protestant community alone to face the threat of communism and remained in China to work as long as possible as a matter of loyalty and identification with Chinese Christians. General Director Houghton was optimistic that the CIM could remain in China by complying with the CCP mandates

[286] Stanley Houghton, "The Crisis in China," *China's Millions*, January 1949, p. 3-4.
[287] David Anthony Huntley, "The Withdrawal of the China Inland Mission from China; and their Redeployment to New Fields in East Asia-An Understanding of the Methodology and Decision-Making Process,"
[288] Vincent Goossaert and David A. Palmer, *The Religious Question in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011): p. 146.
[289] Oi Ki Ling. *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999):

for Chinese churches to function independently from foreign finances and control, while simultaneously he hoped the CIM could lead Chinese Christians to remain defiant against any sort of "compromise" between Christianity and communism.[290] The CIM would "sit out" the CCP occupation because ideally the communist regime would be only a temporary disruption to the evangelism of China as the Boxer Uprising or Anti-Christian Movement of the 1920s had been in the past.[291]

Throughout 1949 the CIM claimed that the conditions in the field were still hospitable for missionary work. In many areas missionaries continued to practice the methods of pioneer evangelism, discipleship training, or itinerate as bible teachers and counselors to the churches. Even in the early months of 1950, CIM missionaries continued to work in many regions and have contact with Chinese churches without interference or restrictions from the new government. For example, at one point Ralph Tolliver traveled widely in areas around Chongqing, going over 250 miles by steamer, junk, and train, attending over sixty meetings with Chinese churches. In fact, many CIM missionaries continued to accompany Chongqing Theological Seminary students and faculty on evangelistic tours and itinerations in and around Chongqing with regularity. In Qinghai, reports in 1949 and 1950 suggested unprecedented success in converting Muslims.[292]

By 1950, however, the evidence on the ground suggested that conditions for missionary work were rapidly deteriorating as a series of events inside and outside China turned the missionary into a focal point for the CCP's foreign policy and mobilization of

[290] Stanley Houghton, "The Crisis in China," *China's Millions*, January 1949, p. 4.
[291] David Anthony Huntley, "The Withdrawal of the China Inland Mission from China; and their Redeployment to New Fields in East Asia-An Understanding of the Methodology and Decision-Making Process,"
[292] Ralph Tolliver, "New Doors Forced Open," *China's Millions,* February 1950.

the masses. In June of 1950, North Korean forces crossed the 38th parallel, leading to the first major crisis of the Cold War in East Asia. U.S. forces quickly mobilized from Japan to rally to the defense of a weak South Korean regime led by Syngman Rhee. By that fall, the success of the United Nations forces led by General Douglas MacArthur in repelling North Korea prompted Mao to send Chinese forces into the fray, driving back the American led coalition to a stalemate not far from the 38th parallel. The Korean War proved the catalyst in a hardening of Sino-American relations, leading to an abandonment of any hope of accommodation between Mao and Truman.

During the Korean War, open hostility and a frenzy of anti-American demonstrations took place inside the PRC, and caught in the crossfires of these campaigns was the CIM missionary and Chinese Christian. That a movement to purge Chinese Christianity of its foreign ties and influences was already underway placed even greater pressure on Chinese Christians. Early that spring a minority of Chinese Christians meeting Zhou Enlai helped lay the groundwork to cut ties with the missionary movement by producing what came to be known in the west as the "Christian Manifesto," a document calling for the establishment of a three-self movement hoping to make all Protestant congregations completely independent of foreign financing, governance, and reliance on missionaries as evangelists. As part of this patriotic mobilization of the churches, the "Christian Manifesto" provided a litany of sins committed by the missionary movement against Chinese, both Christian and non-Christian. Against the backdrop of the Korean War, the signing of the Manifesto by Chinese Christians was accompanied by rallies and parades decrying American imperialism. Leading the charge was a body of Christians known as the Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM),

eventually forming the basis for the establishment of national regulatory agency to govern church affairs and mediate between Christianity and government. The Christian Manifesto and actions of the TSPM were hotly debated outside the PRC as many missionaries rejected both as instruments designed by the CCP to control and perhaps eradicate Christianity.

As an institution, the CIM was an ardent critic of the TSPM. In declaring the society's desire to remain in China under the auspices of the CCP, the CIM had pointed to voices from the Chinese Christian community asking the missionary movement to stay.[293] In responding to the charges leveled by the TSPM, the CIM argued that the group was unrepresentative of the Chinese Christian community, especially evangelicals, and their charges against the foreign missionary coerced and illegitimate. With its agents still inside China, the society worked to prevent Chinese evangelicals from aligning with the TSPM or embracing communism. Internal correspondence within the CIM encouraged missionaries to circumspectly combat the authority of the TSPM and urge Chinese Christians not to sign copies of the Manifesto circulating as petitions in the fall of 1950.[294] Other directions asked CIM missionaries to lead prayers against the study of communist ideology and development of youth organizations.[295]

In a number of areas, CIM forces fomented resistance on the part of Chinese evangelicals to the CCP and its campaigns. Among students, meetings and prayer groups were reorganized to strengthen the resolve of members to resist societal pressure to

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[293] Oi Ki Ling, *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999): p. 94.
[294] Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to North American Council, September 25 1950, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[295] Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to North American Council, October 26 1950, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

abandon Christianity or join the ranks of Christians embracing communism.[296] To facilitate student resistance nationwide, an editor for the China Inter-Varsity Fellowship compiled a list of questions that communist officials often used to interrogate Christians about their faith and published them as a pamphlet in Chinese and distributed it across the nation.[297] By circulating the list the CIM hoped to prepare Chinese students to defend Christianity before CCP officials and remain steadfast in their faith against political and societal pressure. In other cities like Chongqing, CIM missionaries encouraged Chinese students to meet secretly in a rural farmhouse outside the city to carry on worship and continued bible study.[298]

By staying in the PRC and engaging in such activities, the CIM was undoubtedly aware their presence would lead to increasing pressure on Chinese Christians and churches. In reporting to the agents in the field on Zhou Enlai's meeting with Christian representatives and the creation of the Manifesto, the mission's headquarters in Shanghai informed personnel that the document made it unequivocally clear that the CCP intended to force out the foreign missionary movement. Further, the administration warned if missionaries did not voluntarily abandon their posts the party would compel such a move by pressuring the churches. But it advised members not to "pack their trunk," and reminded them "We believe we are in this country at God's charges, and therefore we

[296]Interview of David Adeney by Paul A. Ericksen, November 14, 1988, T4 Collection 393, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[297]Interview of Arthur Glasser by Bob Schuster, April 17, 1995, T5 Collection 421, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[298] Interview of Paul Contento by Robert Schuster, December 9, 1992, T2A Collection 472, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

have no right to *assume* that inevitably it will be put into effect."[299] Thus, throughout much of 1950 the CIM willingly risked the persecution of its members and Chinese allies based upon its unwavering belief that the missionary resided in the PRC at God's behest.

By late 1950, however, the society's leadership in Shanghai faced mounting pressure to initiate at the very least a limited evacuation. Amidst the Korean War and TSPM mobilization campaigns the missionary increasingly became a target for public condemnation and ridicule, and more and more Chinese Christians expressed their desire for the missionary to withdraw from their communities. In provinces such as Gansu, Chinese church leaders expressed regret that CIM missionaries had stayed so long and by their presence damaged the reputation of the churches amidst the rising anti-Americanism of the Korean War.[300] Other invitations to depart from Chinese Christians were issued with more subtlety. Arthur Glasser's fellow evangelists within the Chinese church in Yunnan simply asked whether or not he planned to return to China should the opportunity arise. That they did so before he ever announced his intention to depart signaled that they wished him to leave.[301]

Perhaps the biggest blow to the CIM's hopes to rally Chinese evangelicals against communism and the TSPM came with the defection of the society's stalwart ally at the CTS President Chen Chonggui. In December, Chen asked the CIM missionaries on staff to withdraw from the school, stunning the CIM senior leadership in Shanghai and causing

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[299] Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to Field Superintendents and Missionaries, June 1950, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[300] Interview of William Saunders by Robert Schuster, December 9, 1992, T2 Collection 471, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[301] Interview of Arthur Glasser by Bob Schuster, April 17, 1995, T5 Collection 421, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

divisions within the evangelical churches and groups associated with the mission in Chongqing. [302] By 1952, Chen had become the most prominent evangelical within the upper echelon of the TSPM, and was known inside and outside of China as a fiery critic of the missionary and the U.S. In the winter of 1952 the CTS president published the article "How My Political Thinking Has Changed," for the journal *Tianfeng*. In it he praised the CCP for awakening Chinese Christians to a spirit of patriotism and being moved to tears as his grandson tore photograph of U.S. President Harry Truman to pieces, writing, "What a happy day, when I could see what for many years I had looked for, the time when a three year-old child knew to love his country, and to strike an American devil." Chen also credited the communist revolution with inspiring a watershed moment in the life of the Chinese churches, as they were emboldened to throw off foreign control and domination of Christianity.[303]

His article for *Tianfeng* was a revelation to the CIM and its supporters and crippled the society's hopes that the Chinese evangelical community would stand by the missionary in defiance of the TSPM and CCP. Rather, the society feared that Chen's clout, which it had helped propel to new heights after 1945, would give the TSPM greater credibility within the evangelical community inside China. Not long after Chen asked CIM missionaries to leave the Chongqing Theological Seminary, another pastor in Chongqing followed suit.[304] Indeed, reports from across the field suggested the growing

[302] Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to North American Council, December 13 1950 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[303] Marcus Cheng (Chen Chonggui), "How My Political Thinking Has Changed," *Tianfeng* (January 1952), translated by Wallace P. Merwin and Francis P. Jones, comps. *Documents of the Three-Self Movement* (New York: National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, 1963) pp. 55-59.
[304] Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to North American Council, December 28 1950, Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

popularity of the CCP and its reforms with Christians. In Yunnan there were signs that Christian youth were leaving in droves to join the student associations and groups supporting the CCP. Student evangelism was taking a hit in cities such as Shanghai, too, and in Lanzhou, Otto Schoerner was dismayed to see so many Chinese won over by the CCP's land reforms.[305]

Compounding these issues was the fact that the majority of missionaries were becoming completely isolated, especially from Chinese Christians. In many cases, Chinese clergy and lay leaders asked the missionary not to attend services or socialize with members of the church in public, and by December reports from across China suggested that cooperation with Chinese Christians in most areas occupied by the CIM was impossible. Many CIM missionaries reported that the churches were intimidated into distancing themselves from the missionary, either directly by communist authorities or indirectly by the more general political atmosphere and anti-imperialism of the era. Other members suggested that the CCP had success in smearing their reputation with local communities by painting them as spies or even just potential spies. But many CIM agents also self-imposed their isolation fearing that appearing with Chinese Christians would lead them to be scrutinized by authorities.

This fear of incriminating Chinese Christians greatly limited the extent to which CIM missionaries actually engaged in combating communism. In Yunnan, Mona Joyce felt a strong desire to warn the churches of "what communism was," but was counseled against doing so by many missionaries. Especially as members applied for exit visas, they resisted the urge to say anything negative about communism or the CCP out of fear of

[305] Interview of Otto Schoerner by Robert Schuster, January 31 1979, T2 Collection 55, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

jeopardizing their departure.[306] In fact, many CIM members seemingly developed paranoia, suspecting that even old friends and church members were baiting them into comments that could be used as charges against them by authorities.

In addition, many CIM missionaries learned that their presence and cooperation with the churches caused authorities to doubts the churches' compliance with the three-selfs principles advocated by the TSPM and the government. In Tsinghui, for instance, William Saunders hardly noticed the turnover from the GMD to the CCP, going to bed one night and waking up to find the PLA in control of the city. Under CCP control, Saunders largely saw no real persecution or pressure placed upon Christians in his area. But officials were suspicious of how a church could be independent from a foreign mission society and yet have a missionary engaged in church activities and affairs. Ultimately, Sanders and Chinese Christians affiliated with the CIM struggled to explain how the missionary's cooperation with an indigenous church was not a violation of the church's autonomy.[307] Similar reports from across the PRC in late 1950 led the headquarters to conclude that the mere presence of a missionary was evidence to local officials of the dependence of that the church on the foreign missionary movement.[308]

In September, amidst rising public condemnation, the CIM decided that where Chinese Christians asked the missionary to leave, CIM agents could withdraw to avoid causing the churches further embarrassment and pressure from the government. But it

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[306] Interview of Mona Miller Joyce by Paul Ericksen, August 15, 1996, T2 Collection 535, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[307] Interview of William Saunders by Robert Schuster, December 9, 1992, T2 Collection 471, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[308] Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to North American Council, December 28 1950, Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

also emphasized missionaries could resist the authority of the churches and remain at their posts if they so wished. In deciding whether to heed the requests of Chinese Christians to depart from their assignments, the General Director asked that missionaries first consider whether or not such requests came from groups that were "unspiritual or over-timid." If the missionary found Chinese Christians to be spiritually wanting in such a way, it was their duty the General Director insisted to refuse their plea.[309] Such a decision spoke to the CIM's belief that anti-missionary rhetoric was coerced by the CCP or TSPM, as well as the idea that Chinese Christian and missionary alike should weather persecution according to God's plan.

However, the sense that the missionary could aid Chinese evangelicals in their hour of crisis was quickly evaporating with reports indicating the missionary's complete immobilization. Following the establishment of the CCP, a new regime of mobility was constructed, as all foreign missionaries were required to apply for a residence permit in order to remain in China. As a result, changing one's residency proved near impossible, and travel outside one's registered town or village required permits, too. Interprovincial travel became rare and rarer, and even inter-city itinerations infrequent or prohibited by officials.[310]

By the fall of 1950 changes to government regulations concerning religion gradually reduced the missionary's ability to engage in evangelism. In many regions, authorities banned the use of broadcasting stations, public meetings outside the walls of the church, and the distribution of texts and pamphlets. For example, throughout 1950,

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[309] Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to Field Superintendents and Missionaries, September 25 1950, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[310] Oi Ki Ling. *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999):pp. 112.

communications from inland China suggested that missionaries were limited to a narrow range of social activities with Chinese Christians. In December reports from northwest China indicated that missionary work in the region was largely non-existent. In addition, these restrictions meant communications between junior and senior missionaries in the field and their provincial superintendents or the headquarters were also difficult to maintain. The result was that by the winter of 1950-1951 the majority of CIM missionaries were confined to their residences either by choice or by decree.[311]

Further negating the missionary's work was the society's disappearing infrastructure, and repeated questioning and inspection by local officials. The CCP's objectives of state-building and severing Christianity's ties to the foreign community led Christian schools, colleges, hospitals, clinics, and church buildings to devolve into the hands of Chinese Protestants or the state. Many CIM members were forced to move out of mission premises or relegated to much smaller quarters somewhere on the mission's former property. In addition to the mission's property, the missionary's personal belongings were routinely inspected and many times seized by authorities. Regular interviews or interrogations by officials on everything from the missionary's personal views on communism to the history of their travel whereabouts in China left many individuals feeling harassed and intimidated.

Under these conditions CIM missionaries increasingly voiced a desire to evacuate the field, but the response of the administration in Shanghai to these changing conditions in the field was hindered by a number of factors including unreliable communications.

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311 Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to North American Council, December 28 1950, Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; John R. Sinton, "A Changed Situation," *China's Millions*, July 1951.

But the primary issue was that the General Director departed China for Australia in the fall of 1949, as he suffered from intense bouts of insomnia. In his stead John R. Sinton took over the day-to-day management of operations as Deputy Director in Shanghai for much of 1950 and 1951. It was unclear whether or not as Deputy Director Sinton had the right to issue a withdrawal. Houghton's unflinching commitment to weather the storm and yet his own distance from events ongoing in China proved a problem, as more and more missionaries felt Shanghai and the General Director to be out of touch with the reality of the field.

A few members even charged that they were kept at their posts under "duress." At issue was the fact that if any member decided to depart China without approval from Shanghai they were forced to resign and pay their own way out from the field. A few missionaries expressed anger that without the aid of the mission to navigate the bureaucratic channels of the PRC and pay the "exorbant sums" required for travel, amounted to keeping missionaries at their posts against their will. While denying these charges, Shanghai faced increasing internal pressure to order withdrawals from across the field in 1950.[312]

By the winter of 1950 and 1951 internal reports from missionaries across China suggested that conditions such as the missionary's immobilization and public ridicule, which had once been "localized," were now evident nation-wide. In a matter of a week, areas that had been open to limited missionary work changed with CIM missionaries completely isolated and immobilized. In early January, the mission headquarters in Shanghai ordered the superintendents to withdraw all personnel to the provincial capitals.

[312] Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to Field Superintendents and Missionaries, September 25 1950, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

By October all CIM personnel had left Zhejiang and property been relinquished to locals, and in January over 200 members were given permission to apply for exit permits. Not long after that Sinton ordered a total evacuation without seeking Houghton's approval first, and by the end of 1951 all but 33 members had exited through Hong Kong.[313] There the society established a temporary headquarters, securing two hundred cots and army blankets from the British government to house the society's members as they awaited their voyages home.[314]

The exodus from China proved even more humiliating for the CIM. Once it became apparent that a withdrawal was necessary, financial issues slowed the CIM's evacuation. In December 1950 representatives from Headquarters warned that to grant leave from their posts to all the society's personnel was impossible. Transportation in inside the PRC, such as steamships, was costly and hard to procure. Worse, the costs of pulling all personnel out to Hong Kong or Shanghai would deplete the society's budget and leave them marooned there with no funds for the far more expensive voyage back home.

However, the bigger obstacles came in obtaining permission to leave from government officials. As part of the new regime of mobility enacted by the CCP, missionaries were required to apply for exit visas. In many cases missionaries waited for several months without explanation before being issued to them. Along with this application, authorities required missionaries to advertise their departures in the local

[313] Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to Field Superintendents and Missionaries, January 6 1951, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[314] Interview of Helen Nowack Frame by Paul A. Ericksen, September 13 1982, T2 Collection 255, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

newspapers, allowing for community members to come forward with grievances or accusations against them before leaving. The missionary was also forced to find Chinese guarantors for their reputation and any outstanding financial debts.[315]

Through these measures the CCP closely supervised and controlled the missionary's departure, too. As missionaries traveled out, Chinese officials often accompanied them carrying their identification documents to each city along their route out to Hong Kong. In some cases, escorts occasionally even held onto the missionary's identification, documents, and currency and were responsible for arranging tickets for boats, trains, or motor-car and lodging.[316] Thus, the time, pace, route, and methods of transportation were in large part monitored at the local, provincial, and national level by Chinese officials.

While the CIM struggled to finance the withdrawal and navigate these complex procedures, the few remaining members increasingly faced a hostile society and even imprisonment. While all but 33 members had left by the end of 1951, the last two CIM missionaries would not leave China until 1953. These remnants of the CIM missionary force proved fodder for the TSPM and CCP's anti-imperialist rhetoric in many areas throughout 1951. Accusation meetings in the churches and articles in local newspapers targeted CIM missionaries in Nanjing, Changsha, Kunming, and Sinning for a range of grievances from imperialism and espionage to medical malpractice. And members such as Charles Spring and Arthur Matthews were imprisoned and faced public trials. In the first few years of the PRC the missionary's mobility went from privileged right immune to state sovereignty to completely immobilized and dominated by the state bureaucracy.

[315] Oi Ki Ling. *The Changing Role of the British Protestant Missionaries in China, 1945-1952* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999):pp 112-113.
[316] R. Arthur Matthews, "God Made the Day," *The Millions,* November 1953, p. 162-164.

There were also growing fears that the events in China signaled a momentous shift in the fortunes of global Christianity. A prayer devotional citing the expulsion of the CIM in January 1953 lamented, "We may as well face the fact that the day of unrestricted movement of missionaries is past."[317] New regulations governing the missionary movement were anticipated by governments in India, the Philippines, Colombia, and regions in Central Asia.[318] Amidst the rising tensions of the Cold War, the missionary exodus from the PRC elevated the fears of evangelicals that the spread of communism and decolonization threatened to greatly circumscribe the mobility and rights of white missionaries around the world.

These fears were produced in part through the society's coverage of its exodus from China. Originally, the CIM advised missionaries arriving in Hong Kong to avoid speaking to the secular or Christian press. The society did not want to risk angering the CCP while members still remained in China. But increasingly after 1951, the society used stories highlighting the missionary's persecution and humiliation during the exodus to support the Cold War containment and spiritual warfare against the CCP. Further, the exodus narratives contested the idea that Chinese Christians and larger society truly resented the missionaries and wanted them gone, as the stories featured accounts of Chinese weeping at their departure.

Firsthand experiences with communism kept the now former China missionaries in high demand as speakers with U.S. audiences, and with over 600 missionaries still in China by the start of 1951 the CIM had the largest body of "missionary experts" on communism of any mission in the world. From the CIM branches in Los Angeles,

[317] "Prayer Calendar," *The Millions,* January 1953.
[318] "Prayer Calendar," *The Millions,* January 1953.

Chicago, and Philadelphia these stories were disseminated to the churches, youth groups, and social organizations of Protestant communities. Even in the late 1950s and early 1960s, women's missionary societies and prayer circles in Santa Ana, Long Beach, and Orange County were still eager to hear Marguerite Owen recount her experiences in Yunnan.[319]

Touring the U.S. as an expert on the PRC and communism in general became a facet of many China missionaries post-China tenure in the Cold War era. As one CIM author alluded to the missionary's experiences were sought after as a "precious knowledge of what the Church is passing through."[320] Arthur Matthews, one of the last fourteen CIM missionaries to exit China after 1951, worked in the CIM offices in Chicago and Los Angeles during the 1950s and was constantly sought after as a speaker at Protestant churches, conferences, and youth groups to share stories of his experiences.[321] Matthew's popularity as a speaker had the added dimension of his story being rather unusual, because he was among the minority of Protestant missionaries whose exit from China had been delayed by criminal charges.[322]

Various other members accepted pastorates or posts within American seminaries or bible colleges such as Arthur Glasser at Columbia Bible College or J. Herbert Kane who first accepted a pastorship in Quebec before moving to Rhode Island to work at Providence Bible College. A few, such as Dick Hillis, even formed their own mission

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[319] Interview of Marguerite Elizabeth Owen by Robert Schuster, June 14 1999, T8 Collection 534, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[320] Arnold Lea, "The Right Hand of the Most High: Year of the Right Hand," from Anne Hazelton, eds. *The Hand that Guided: The Story of the Year 1951* (London: China Inland Mission, 1952): p. 11.
[321] "Editor's Note," *The Millions,* November 1954.
[322] In 1952, the U.S. State Department released a list of persons detained in the PRC in prison or under house arrest, of which Matthews was among fourteen other Protestant missionaries. J. Herbert Kane, *The Protestant Church in Communist China, 1949-1958* (1960), M.A. Thesis, Brown University.

society, Orient Crusades, while David Adeney left the China Inter-Varsity Fellowship for a job in Illinois with the U.S IVF. In defiance of the CCP and TSPM, the China missionary in exile claimed to speak for the Chinese masses, particularly "true" Christians, allegedly silenced by the Bamboo curtain.

And the U.S. public was eager to hear about their experiences and insights into life in a communist state. Outside of mission publications, media in the U.S. such as *The New York Times*, *U.S. News and World Report, Time, Christian Century, Readers Digest,* and *Moody Monthly* published accounts of various Protestant and Catholic missionaries and their experiences with communism. Many other missionaries went on to publish their own books describing their last years, days, or months in China.[323] The detention of missionaries was but one of several international events contributing to fears about the treatment of Americans by sovereign Asian states. From late 1948 to the end of 1949, U.S. consul Angus Ward and his staff were detained on charges of espionage by the CCP in the city of Mukden. In response groups such as the American Legion decried the arrest as a violation of diplomatic norms and called publically for a military rescue. Media attention in December 1949 upon his release focused on Ward's emaciated appearance, as he had lost over twenty pounds, a sign of his abuse and neglect.[324]

The American public was equally fascinated and anxious about the psychological treatment of the individual in communist states. During the Korean War, the treatment of U.S. POWs created even more vitriol toward Beijing when signed confessions from U.S. pilots and naval officers admitted to the use of germ-warfare and later a number of

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[323] John D. Hayes, "I Saw 'Red China' from the Inside," *U.S. News and World Report*,13 March 1953.; Stewart Allen "I Was a Prisoner of the Chinese Reds," *Macleans Magazine,* 15 April 1952.;
[324] "Ward and His Party Go Aboard U.S. Ship; He Assails Captors," *New York Times,* 12 December 1949.; "Ward Getting First Haircut," *New York Times,* 19 December 1949.; "No Titoism in China Seen," *New York Times,* 24 January 1950.; http://www.britishpathe.com/video/chinese-reds-free-angus-ward

American GIs defected to the PRC, leading to various U.S. news outlets and spokesman to decry the use of Chinese "brain-washing" and torture.[325] Before the release of the American POWs, U.S. journalists and intellectuals such as Edward Hunter had already introduced the concept of "brain-washing" into the lexicon of Americans with books like *Brainwashing in Red China: The Calculated Destruction of Men's Minds*.[326] Later accounts of "brain-washing" used against missionaries Olin Stockwell and Scot Geoffrey T. Bull proved popular reading for evangelicals in the 1950s. Americans were increasingly awestruck and terrified by communism's power to isolate, confine, and remake the individual.[327]

In this respect, the exodus gave rise to racial fears within the CIM about the control of Asian regimes over white mobility that were then reproduced and disseminated back in nations like the U.S. Building on the American mythology of the captivity narrative, the exodus narratives of the CIM spoke to fears of racial revenge by the "other." By stripping missionaries of their freedom of movement and rights to evangelize, and perhaps much worse, the CCP induced evangelical fears of racial revenge by non-white regimes and communist states.

Several experiences during the exodus created hardship for CIM missionaries. Some missionaries had reportedly been forced to leave wearing only the clothes on their

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325 "Some GIs Not on Exchange List," *Life*, 11 May 1953.; "Most Prisoners Return Happily But a Few Stay," *Life,* 7 September 1953, p 26-27.; William N. Otis, "Why I Confessed,"*Life,* 21 September 1953, p. 131. "The Prisoners of Pavlov," *Life,* 5 October 1953, p. 26.; "The Communist Peace Dove…And the Wife of a Prisoner of War," *Life,* 13 April 1953, p. 27.; "Big Exchange Gets Under Way," *Life,* 27 April 1953, p. 29., "Heroism of General Dean is Revealed When Most Famous POW is Set Free," *Life*, 14 September 1953.

326 Edward Hunter, *Brainwashing in Red China: The Calculated Destruction of Men's Minds* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1951); Hunter, *Brainwashing: The Story of the Men Who Defied It* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1956); Hunter, *Communist Pyschological Warfare* (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print Offices, 1958)

327 Geoffrey T. Bull, "When the Iron Gates Yield," *Moody Monthly,* Vol. 56, No. 1 (December 1955), F. Olin Stockwell, "What is Brain-washing? Part 1," *Christian Century,* Vol. 70, No. 3, 21 January 1953.

backs, which caused considerable hardship as they traveled across China.[328] Many others had been separated from friends, family, or co-workers, which resulted in weeks, sometimes years of separation and uncertainty.[329] In other cases, some missionaries believed that communist officials intentionally delayed their departure from China, eagerly exploiting the foreign missionary's presence as a focal point for anti-American and anti-Christian demonstrations. In other examples, rumors abounded that plots had developed to hold certain missionaries until friends and families back home could pay a ransom.[330] The circumstances of the exodus convinced the CIM that the CCP's new regime governing mobility had been engineered specifically to degrade and intimidate the missionary and ruin their standing with local Chinese.

The exodus induced fears of sexual violation, too. For example, in February 1951 the society became concerned by the fate of a single female missionary living in western China who had been confined to her quarters by officials. Reports from her superintendent stressed that each day the young woman was "surrounded by men" holding "public trials in view of her quarters" as a means to intimidate and harass her. Authorities had already taken her typewriter and watch, and her superintendent was afraid that she would never be allowed to leave with "her body and clothes."[331] That a majority of the CIM's missionaries in the field were women only amplified fears of sexual violation.

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[328] Ernest Carlburg, "Nor By Flight," from Anne Hazelton, eds. *The Hand that Guided: The Story of the Year 1951* (London: China Inland Mission, 1952)
[329] Ernest Carlburg, "Nor By Flight," from Anne Hazelton, eds. *The Hand that Guided: The Story of the Year 1951* (London: China Inland Mission, 1952)
[330] Elsie Bromley, "Higher Ways," from Anne Hazelton, eds. *The Hand that Guided: The Story of the Year 1951* (London: China Inland Mission, 1952)
[331] Letter from Shanghai Headquarters to North American Council, December 28 1950, Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

CIM missionaries relayed these fears to U.S. evangelicals by painting a picture of the CCP as denying the foreigner any rights or standing. Matthews later described his last years in China as learning firsthand "the irresistible might of the communist machine in action" which had made all aspects of life in the PRC contingent upon "the will and pleasure of the communists."[332] In the judicial system, he claimed "to compromise seemed plausible enough, whereas to resist could mean—anything!"[333] Another CIM author described the withdrawal as a "school of learning to know no rights of our own, to have no confidence in any past experience or ability, to claim no superiority of race or rank…accepting humiliating experiences that were galling in the extreme."[334] Thus, the exodus fueled fears that the CCP denied the missionary not just rights but the sense of privilege and superiority bound in those rights as well.

The account of the missionary's exodus, filled with stories of immobilization, dispossession, interrogation, condemnation, imprisonment, and expulsion contributed to growing fears about the sovereignty of non-white regimes in a post-colonial era. Anxieties that white mobility would no longer be immune from the sovereignty of non-whites, but subject to the same suspicion and restrictions that non-white minorities faced in nations like the U.S. Rather than roam freely about Asian societies, the exodus in China portended a future where whites might suffer segregation or isolation, be subject to harassment and scrutiny, and be denied the freedom to move freely in foreign cultures without approval from the state. Further, in those societies missionaries would experience segregation, isolation, and seen as outcasts, not as superior or privileged.

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[332] Arthur Matthews, "Strategies in the Sand," *The Millions,* May 1958, p. 67-69.
[333] Arthur Matthews, "Strategies in the Sand," *The Millions,* May 1958, p. 67-69.
[334] Arnold Lea, "The Right Hand of the Most High: Year of the Right Hand," from Anne Hazelton, eds. *The Hand that Guided: The Story of the Year 1951* (London: China Inland Mission, 1952):

China Watching and Spiritual Warfare

Positioning themselves as the Chinese Christian's advocates, CIM missionaries protested the treatment of Chinese evangelicals and their lack of a right to evangelize aggressively in society. The fundamental question confronting the CIM as it contemplated evacuation was whether or not the "loss" of China meant that the society should disband or evacuate personnel to establish work in new fields outside China. The decision in favor of redeployment was made principally at two meetings, the first in Australia at Kelorama, the second in Bournemouth, England in 1951. There a mix of executive personnel, home directors, and select missionaries voted not to disband, but instead to send survey teams to Japan, Thailand, Philippines, and amongst overseas Chinese populations in Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia.

The responsibility of the CIM to Chinese Christians in the PRC, however, remained a vexing question as the society transitioned out of China and into the new fields in East Asia. The meeting of the mission's executives at the Bournemouth Conference stressed that the society had "an enduring sense of responsibility to the vast population of inland China, and especially to the Christian church there…in their hour of testing."[335] The idea that the CIM was no longer just a mission was evident at the very beginning of its transition to fields outside the PRC. The yearly anthology of the CIM for 1951 entitled *The Hand That Guided,* newly appointed General Director Arnold Lea clarified the mission's guiding purpose as "the dual commission of upholding by prayer the Church in China, and of reaching out to those in Southeast Asia who still have not

[335] Fred Mitchell, "Let us Go on," *The Millions,* January 1952, p. 4.

heard the message of Redeeming Love."[336] Another writer for *The Millions,* the renamed monthly magazine of the CIM, stated that the CIM would "remind you frequently in the pages of our magazine of the needs of our brethren who cannot leave China because it is their home," reminding U.S. evangelicals of the plight of Chinese Christians and maintaining spiritual fellowship despite political and cultural isolation.[337]

Now committed to "China watching" from the periphery of mainland China, the CIM retained its authoritative position with many U.S. congregations. Turning the mission's home audiences into "China watchers" was an organizational goal as well. CIM supporters in the U.S. and elsewhere were advised to read about China constantly, not just in mission publications, but in their daily newspapers. They were then asked to reflect on the information and offer prayer for Chinese churches, using spiritual fellowship to penetrate the "Bamboo Curtain."[338] Generating spiritual aid to Chinese Christians was in many ways the CIM's primary agenda in the 1950s due to the widespread belief that the Christian community was under enormous social and political pressure. One CIM author described the lives of Chinese Christians as "almost impossible to understand the terrific strain—the onsets of temptation and terror," as the CCP utilized "continued, relentless, subtle propaganda" to force Christians either to apostatize or "compromise" by joining the ranks of the TSM. [339] Through "China watching" the CIM hoped to keep mainland Protestants from being forgotten or isolated

[336] Anne Hazelton, eds. *The Hand that Guided: The Story of the Year 1951* (London: China Inland Mission, 1952): p. 14.
[337] Fred Mitchell, "Let us Go on," *The Millions,* January 1952 , p. 4
[338] Fred Mitchell, "Let us Go on," *The Millions,* January 1952 , p. 4.
[339] "What Can We Write of China?" from Anne Hazelton, eds. *Ready Sandals: The Story of the Year 1952* (London: China Inland Mission 1953): p. 71.

from the international community and to maintain a semblance of its calling to evangelize to the Chinese.

The CIM educated home audiences on what to pray about and how to engage in "spiritual warfare" primarily through the prayer devotionals found in the monthly magazine *The Millions* and various other CIM publications. In *The Millions,* readers found information on Chinese Christians in the sections entitled "Prayer Pointers" or the "Prayer Calendar," which provided U.S. evangelicals with specific targets for prayer. For example, in January of 1952 the "Prayer Pointers" cited a letter received by an unnamed Chinese Christian, currently living in the U.S., from a relative in the PRC. The letter had declared that there existed "universal poverty" among the general population and that each citizen only received "four ounces of meat…every ten days."[340] The devotionals in *The Millions* then designated certain days of the week or month for Christians to focus prayers on "hungry Chinese." Abstractions like "hungry Chinese" generated pity from the mission's supporters and inspired anti-communism among Christian audiences in the U.S. and elsewhere in the networks of the CIM.

The imagery of Chinese Christians in these prayer devotionals were critical to what might be termed the U.S. Protestant effort at "spiritual containment" in East Asia. Using prayer to combat communism was a constant theme in CIM publications. Marvin Dunn, a former China missionary relocated to the island of Taiwan in the early 1950s advised readers on the use of prayer to combat communism in his article for *The Millions* "Providing Spiritual Weapons."[341] The society's new General Director, Arnold J. Lea, was especially fond of urging Christians to use prayer as a form of "spiritual warfare"

[340] "Prayer Pointers," *The Millions,* January 1952.
[341] Marvin Dunn, "Providing Spiritual Weapons," *The Millions,* July 1952.

against various groups in East Asia seen as antagonistic to Protestant missions.[342] And J. Oswald Sanders of the CIM called upon evangelicals to use the "'guided-missile' type of prayer, with its loaded warhead," which could be used by citizens of the U.S. to target "vital points in the battlefront," in East Asia, even beyond the "Bamboo curtain."[343] The rhetoric of the prayer requests and their instructions on how to pray for missionaries in East Asia and Chinese Christians clearly lent itself to a militant cold war mentality.

Following the exodus, the CIM also launched an assault on the TSPM and defended the reputation of the missionary against its charges. Prayer reminders called the TSM a tool for suppression of "true Christianity," and equated joining the ranks of the TSM with submission to communism. CIM audiences were warned "increased authority in the hands of the government-controlled Three Self Patriotic Movement means increasing persecution and danger to all whose love for the Lord is greater than patriotic bonds."[344] Rather than liberation from foreign control, the CIM promoted the idea that the spread of the TSPM movement typified by Chinese Christians drafting confessions and anti-American or anti-missionary sentiments and ebullient praise for the CCP administration were the means by which the "enslavement" of Christianity was accomplished by the government.

The "exodus" also became an emblematic point in the CIM's institutional history and collective identity that made it the focus of numerous publications from the early 1950s to the present day. Much like the prayer devotionals, the exodus narratives used the "knowledge" of what life was like in "Red China" to promote awareness about the issues facing the Chinese Christian community. The emphasis was again on the perception that

[342] J. Oswald Sanders, "Retrospect and Prospect," *The Millions*, February 1957.
[343] . Oswald Sanders, "Retrospect and Prospect," *The Millions*, February
[344] "Prayer Calendar," *The Millions,* February 1956.

all "true" Christians suffered grievously under the CCP. For example, *The Hand that Guided: The Story of the Year 1951* offered CIM audiences some of their first chances to read about the society's withdrawal. Various stories of Chinese Christians described their lives under the CCP as "crushed, mutilated, and reviled."[345] Others like Elsie Bromley of the CIM described her Chinese Bible School staff and students as reduced to "trembling Christians" awaiting a period of trial and persecution by the CCP.[346] Through the telling and retelling of the story of the missionary withdrawal, the CIM hoped to keep these communities of Protestants "visible" to the international community and remind the home audiences of their ongoing spiritual obligation to the Chinese churches.

Other stories gave a first person account of the radical changes to Chinese society engineered by the CCP from the vantage point of the missionary on the ground. For instance, the article "During land Reform by a Missionary," told of a Christian peasant farmer pressured to give up Christianity in order to secure a powerful position with the local cadres as they enacted the land reform policies. With a family to support, the peasant did so only to find that he lost most of the farmland he had before the revolution as had most in his community had discovered according to the missionary. His return to his faith led him to be removed from his job for being a "Christian and a capitalist." Beyond the pressure to apostatize, the article also described how land reforms led to shortened or canceled worship services and drained the energy of congregations through mandatory political study.[347] Another letter from a missionary couple described how the

[345] Arnold Lea, "The Right Hand of the Most High: Year of the Right Hand," from Anne Hazelton, eds. *The Hand that Guided: The Story of the Year 1951* (London: China Inland Mission, 1952): p. 11.
[346] Elsie Bromley, "Higher Ways," from Anne Hazelton, eds. *The Hand that Guided: The Story of the Year 1951* (London: China Inland Mission, 1952)
[347] Elsie Bromley, "Higher Ways," from Anne Hazelton, eds. *The Hand that Guided: The Story of the Year 1951* (London: China Inland Mission, 1952)

state's acquisition of the mission institutions such as hospitals, schools, etc. now turned the Protestant network into bastions of "anti-God, anti-foreign, and anti-missionary propaganda."[348] Such accounts from CIM missionaries mocked the CCP revolution as a farce in terms of social justice.

From these sources, the CIM disseminated an imagery of Chinese Christians enslaved, executed, or imprisoned by communist forces. Christians who suffered imprisonment, such as the Chinese educator given the name "Esther," were described as undergoing daily visits from local officials, who searched her home and interrogated her, and eventually imprisoned her for several weeks. The failure of her interrogators to compel her to "falsehoods," as the author called it, had allegedly led to her execution.[349] Another article, "A Light Shined in the Cell: The story of a Chinese Christian," told readers of the increasing pressure placed upon a man only identified as a "voracious bible student" and a "most zealous Christian," who was arrested and then placed in solitary confinement and confined by metal chains. The inability of the prison system and his fellow prisoners to convince him to renounce his faith led *The Millions* to proclaim him a "modern Paul."[350] The accounts of the deaths of Chinese Christians, such as the story of a Chinese man singing joyfully as he was marched out to be executed by a firing squad, bordered on being works of hagiography.[351] And, over time, the collective of Chinese Christians began to be referred to as "China's saints."[352]

Society members further discredited the TSPM's claims to religious liberty in the PRC by emphasizing the lack of a right to engage in evangelism. For example, Frank

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[348] "Excerpt from Letter in China," *Moody Monthly*, April 1952.
[349]Jessie Amonds, "Oh, the Mercy of God!" *The Millions,* November 1952, p. 175.
[350] "A Light Shined in the Cell: The story of a Chinese Christian," *The Millions,* July 1952, p. 109-110.
[351] "Prayer Calendar," *The Millions,* March 1956.
[352] "Prayer," *The Millions,* January 1958.

Harris warned U.S. evangelicals "religious liberty" meant "liberty of worship, not of propagation, and includes liberty to decry, deride, and control it."[353] The only place where the Christians had the right to promote their faith was within the walls of the church, according to missionaries like Leslie Lyall. He compared the religious liberty of Chinese churches in 1958 to that of the "liberty of a lion in a moated zoo."[354]

However, in disseminating stories of the Chinese Christians' persecution, the CIM was dogged by the questions of whether or not Christianity would be annihilated in the absence of the missionary, an issue with profound spiritual ramifications. Concerns for the more general non-Christian population of China raised grave spiritual doubts as well. Evangelical audiences also frequently asked the CIM missionary to answer why God would allow such an immense population to be isolated from gospel outreach and the opportunity of salvation. To combat fears that the missionary exodus portended the elimination of Christianity in China, the CIM worked to promote the idea that God was behind the exodus of the missionary. For example, J. Herbert Kane wrote that the evacuation was a "strategic retreat" where the "Chinese Church would be able to close ranks, don armor, and prepare to do battle with a totalitarian government."[355] To impart this meaning to the exodus, the CIM focused prayers on the idea of a resilient Chinese evangelical church, hardened and purified by persecution, but unyielding in its commitment to evangelism.

The most common questions posed to CIM speakers and writers concerned the fate of Chinese Christians and the churches under the CCP. U.S. evangelicals habitually

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[353] Frank Harris, "Will the Chinese Church Die Out?" *China's Millions*, October 1952.
[354] Leslie Lyall, "Report out of China," *China's Millions*, March 1958.
[355] J. Herbert Kane, *The Protestant Church in Communist China, 1949-1958* (1960), M.A. Thesis, Brown University, p. 29.

asked the CIM missionaries if they thought the churches would be eliminated by the CCP. It was a question that angered many CIM members in the 1950s and 1960s. For example Otto Schoerner remembers being insulted by an audience at the Moody Bible School in Chicago as he felt the line of questioning suggested that most thought that with the missionaries' departure nearly one hundred years of evangelism had been lost.[356]

Early in the 1950s while the CIM still hoped a regime change might remove the CCP, CIM missionaries still described their work in China as the "great unfinished task," and members like Frank Harris called the Chinese churches "independent" but also "pathetically weak." He also admitted to U.S. audiences that there were hundreds of miles in northwest China without a single church or Christian.[357] But as a return looked less and less likely, CIM speakers focused more on the idea that the missionary had left behind a mature, independent and strong evangelical body of churches.

While at many times the prayers for Chinese Christians evidenced a bleak mood, they also expressed defiance and optimism, especially in regards to the ability of Chinese Christians to survive in the face of aggression. A prayer for Chinese Christians in 1952 reminded U.S. evangelicals, "missionaries may be driven away from China, churches in China may be closed by force, but the Head of the church can never be closed out of the hearts of His true believers, nor His Spirit driven away from them."[358] That the almighty remained in China bolstered evangelical faith in the survival of Christianity in the PRC. During the exodus, a picture of the Great Wall featured the caption, "The Great Wall was built to keep out China's enemies. In the end it failed. How much less can the Iron

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[356]Interview of Otto Schoerner by Robert Schuster, January 31 1979, T2 Collection 55, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[357] Frank Harris, "Will the Chinese Church Die Out?" *China's Millions*, October 1952.
[358] "Prayer Pointers," *The Millions,* January 1952.

Curtain keep out God's Holy Spirit, even though it may exclude missionaries." Communism could thus not triumph over God and extinguish Chinese Christianity entirely. That it was a minority struggling against societal pressure and the might of the government did not matter. Lyall wrote, "the Church in China is, without question, small, and the number of true believers smaller still; yet, it is undeniably true that there is that which Christ himself has built, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."[359]

By 1953 CIM writers began championing the idea that Chinese Christianity would remain and even expand under communist rule. Mabel Williamson reassured CIM supporters that although "missionaries have left but God is still there," with the "living church." Williamson claimed that as a "living thing" it inevitable that the churches would grow and reproduce and "It may look to us as though he had cut everything away, but no, that was only dead, and unproductive wood. He prunes that abundant fruit may result."[360] That Chinese Christianity was being purified, but would emerge stronger and multiply was a constant theme offered by the CIM in explaining the missionary's expulsion.

To this end, many CIM members like Arthur Matthews referred to the status of Chinese Christians in biblical terms, framing their sacrifice and persecution as a necessary part of Christianity's global triumph. Matthews said that in the great spiritual struggle of the day various churches around the world would face "annihilation, liquidation, collapse," but ultimately "through bitter struggles with world powers, represented by the most fearful symbols, the Lamb emerges, standing, conquering, riding, and reigning."[361] That Chinese Christians not only persisted but also were propagating the

[359] Mabel Williamson, "A Living Church," *China's Millions*, January 1953.
[360] Mabel Williamson, "A Living Church," *China's Millions*, January 1953.
[361] R. Arthur Matthews, "God Made the Day," *The Millions,* November 1953, p. 162-164.

faith through sacrifice and suffering fit the evangelicals' popular and biblical understanding of Christianity's inevitable spread and triumph.

Reports in the mid-1950s suggested that following the exodus, restrictions on the Christian community had relaxed and the faith had rebounded. Former CIM missionary Henry Gould reported in late December 1955 that from his view of Christian life in Shanghai, Christianity was "healthier than ever." Gould had resigned from his mission post in the early 1950s in order to accept a post with a British shipping firm, which had allowed Gould and his wife to reside in Shanghai until the end of 1955. When he left the firm, Gould moved to Australia and resumed working for the CIM. His correspondence about the Chinese churches in the 1950s showed that congregations were not only "surviving" but also growing. Most especially in Shanghai, there was no need for Christians to go "underground." Already by the 1950s the notion of "underground Christianity" was a growing fascination among the international Protestant community wherein Christians were believed to be covertly worshipping and gathering together. Shanghai Protestants, according to Gould, walked the streets with oversized Bibles tucked in their arms, handed out gospel tracts, and sat in packed churches nearly every Sunday. Churches in Southwest China spoke of evangelism campaigns carried out by Chinese missionaries. Although in other regions of China he conceded that churches worked under restrictions, overall, Gould's vision of Chinese Protestantism was much sunnier than his contemporaries.[362]

CIM publications in the late 1950s stressed that despite renewed campaigns of political study by the CCP, there were reports of conversions, baptisms, and regular

[362] Harry Gould, "Letters from the Mainland," *The Millions,* December 1955, p. 172.

evangelism carried on by evangelicals. The society also pointed to rising sales in Christian publications and claimed, "a great hunger for the Scriptures and for Christian literature is reported from all parts of China."[363]

The directions provided by the CIM on what to pray for when thinking of Chinese Christians provided by the CIM best illustrate this desire to have Protestantism survive in China without achieving compromise or co-existence with the CCP. According to the mission's monthly magazine renamed *The Millions,* Christians outside the PRC were to pray that Chinese Christians demonstrate "boldness, love, and discernment" to keep them aloof from the TSM or the CCP.[364] General Director Arnold J. Lea added to this list the imperative to pray that the Chinese church would remain "uncompromising."[365] Additional directions from the CIM asked that prayer be focused on the "fear, ignorance, and weaknesses" of Chinese Christians which had led them to support the CCP. Other times readers were asked to pray for "all in China whose faith in the Lord conflicts with the decrees of man."[366]

Sustaining the faith of the CIM and its supporters in God's sovereignty over China was the idea of an "invisible" or "underground" church. As early as 1951 the CIM reassured readers that although the "visible" aspects of Chinese Christianity had "almost all disappeared," the "invisible church grows stronger every day." Later in 1963 one of the society's most avid China Watchers David Adeney reported that recent accounts from Christians leaving the PRC had show "undoubtedly, a great amount of Christian witness is maintained secretly at considerable risk to those who take part." These reports also

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[363] Leslie Lyall, "Report out of China," *The Millions,* March 1958; Leslie Lyall, "Mainland Chinese Maintain Testimony," *The Millions,* May 1958.
[364] "How to Pray For Chinese Christians," *The Millions,* September 1952, p. 9.
[365] Arnold J. Lea, "Don't Forget to Pray for China," *The Millions,* August/September 1954.
[366] "Prayer Calendar," *The Millions,* March 1957.

fueled the sense that the general citizenry were still being reached and won to Christianity, potentially fueling a growing resistance to CCP rule. Adeney continued…

> When the communist first came to power, many were much impressed by their zeal to reform society. There was a feeling that the Christians had failed and that communism offered a great practical hope for the future. Today great numbers are disillusioned by the hatred and evil on every side and disappointed by the failure of the communists to fulfill their early promises. On the other hand they have been impressed with the love and sacrificial zeal of Christians who for the sake of the Gospel are prepared to risk their lives and freedom.[367]

Other voices told of Chinese Christian parents and teachers battling against the state's machinery of indoctrination in the schools and society for the hearts and minds of youth.

The CIM also tried to sustain evangelical hope in their continued fellowship and influence in the PRC despite isolation and Sino-American hostility. Letters from Chinese Christians published in the pages of *China's Millions* urged U.S. evangelicals to join them in spirit, "praise God, although we live in different places, yet we can commune with our Saviour through constant prayer."[368] Other reports stressed that Sunday school lessons and texts originating in the U.S. continued to be popular with Chinese congregations.

Among these legacies left behind by the CIM in the late 1950s giving hope to the international evangelical community was the student movement. Despite the society's warnings that youth were among the most susceptible to indoctrination and the lure of the CCP's brand of nationalism, the CIM claimed the student movement would persevere. In

[367] David Adeney "China" *East Asia Millions*, July 1963.
[368] "A Letter from Inside the Iron Curtain," *The Millions,* March 1954.

the summer of 1958 Lyall reported that student witness carried on in cities like Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Wuhan, Nanchang, Changsha, Guilin, Nanjing, and Canton. Further, Christians in Wenzhou had reportedly held a rally with over a thousand youth in attendance.[369]

But maintaining evangelical hope in the idea of Chinese Christianity's survival was difficult to hold onto during the Great Leap Forward and later the Cultural Revolution. CIM commentators interpreted the drive to collectivize agriculture and another series of anti-Rightist campaigns following the Hundred Flowers Movement as direct assaults on the Christian community and the bedrock of Protestant values: the home life of the Christian family. In March 1959, the prayer calendar in *The Millions* claimed Christian families had been "broke and separated by the commune system," and all Chinese youth were now raised by the state.[370]

By the late 1950s, in the pages of CIM publications the entire Chinese population was represented as living in a state of exhaustive labor, intensive indoctrination, and immersion in communist political doctrines as society drove toward industrialization. The closing of hundreds of churches in cities like Shanghai fueled fears that the CCP had finally begun a campaign to "stamp out religion." Leslie Lyall, a popular CIM author, referred to the communal life of rural Chinese as "dawn to dusk slavery," noting the long hours of labor for both young and old citizens living in the countryside. Chinese were described as "living, working, sleeping, and eating in a collective, disciplined, semi-military fashion."[371] From correspondence with refugees, Lyall warned the CIM audience

[369] Leslie Lyall, "Report out of China," *The Millions,* March 1958; Leslie Lyall, "Mainland Chinese Maintain Testimony," *The Millions,* May 1958.
[370] "Prayer Calendar," *The Millions*, March 1959.
[371] Leslie Lyall, "Window on China: Dawn to Dusk Slavery" *The Millions,* May 1959, p.66.

that laborers worked up to "fifteen or sixteen hours every day…seven days a week," and in commune were given only two bowls of rice to eat daily. Since communal work carried on just the same on Sundays, Christian services had been greatly disrupted and only the strongest, spiritually and physically, still attended. Lyall was told by a refugee Chinese the fate of all Chinese, not just Protestants, was "worse than a dog's life," and the trial faced by the churches Lyall called "more bitter than that which the Israelites suffered in Egypt."[372]

While the CIM suggested Christianity rebounded following the Great Leap Forward, the Cultural Revolution revived fears that the CCP could completely eradicate Christianity. CIM publications contributed to these anxieties with accounts of the Red Guards as zealous missionaries in their own right. In the spring of 1967 Adeney reported in "Turmoil in China" that the Red Guards took Mao and his little red book as "bible and savior" and used open-air meetings, demonstrations, house-to-house visits, and personal work to foment the Cultural Revolution. As part of their campaigns the Guards condemned and harassed Christians, burning their bibles, and turning Christian meeting halls into dens for their meetings and rallies.[373] By the late 1960s most accounts in the secular and Christian press suggested that all visible signs of Christianity had been eradicated during the Cultural Revolution.

[372] Leslie Lyall, "Window on China: Dawn to Dusk Slavery" *The Millions,* May 1959, p.66.
[373] "Turmoil in China," *East Asia Millions,* March 1967.

Conclusion: Soul Searching

The missionary's immobilization and expulsion created pervasive spiritual doubts for Protestants around the world and caused decades of debates within the world of missions concerning Christianity's response to communism and relations with societies in Asia. Rather than "freely" spreading the TSPM and CCP accused the missionary of propagating the faith through imperialism and exploitation of the Chinese. Adding insult to injury, the CCP denied the missionary's mobility and forced the movement into a retreat raising doubts about the inevitably of Christianity's progress and faith in divine sovereignty.

The CIM, however, did not surrender its faith in divine sovereignty and belief in Christianity's unstoppable spread. During the 1950s and 1960s, the CIM rallied the international evangelical community behind spiritual warfare and prayers for the heroic resistance of Chinese evangelicals to the CCP and TSPM. Promoting the exodus as a "strategic retreat," the CIM tried to frame the meanings the missionary's exile into the New Fields as the means for Christianity's eventual triumph over the forces of communism. Despite trial and persecution, the CIM claimed Chinese Christianity would eventually emerge from its confrontation purified, strengthened, and vindicated in its opposition to the CCP and TSPM when the forces of communism were defeated in the Cold War. Ultimately, the idea of the missionary exodus as a "strategic retreat" leading to Christianity's greater advance depended upon two factors for the CIM and its supporters, the continued existence of a defiant Chinese Christianity in the PRC and the progress of the mission's representatives on the periphery of China in the New Fields.

By the mid-1960s, events inside and outside of the PRC undermined this belief in a "strategic retreat" as the missionary movement struggled against the backdrop of communist revolutions and Chinese Christianity was seemingly annihilated by the forces unleashed by the Cultural Revolution. Simultaneously, the exodus narratives and experiences of CIM missionaries contributed to a growing cultural fascination and fear of life in communist regimes in the 1950s and 1960s. Colored by ideas of racial revenge, these stories of the missionary's expulsion projected fears of an Asia where whites were divested of the privileges of the imperialist era, such as freedom of movement and expression. Thus, the strain of anti-communism propagated among evangelicals by the CIM feared not only the loss of Asia to communism but the loss of a particular type of mobility in Asia associated with religious freedoms, divine sovereignty, and racial privilege.

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Chapter 4

Redeployment and the New Fields: Pioneer Evangelism as Containment in East and Southeast Asia, 1951-1961

Introduction

The exodus from China robbed evangelicals of their confidence in Christianity's global expansion, creating a crisis in faith and instigating decades of debate within the Protestant missionary movement. An entire nation was ceded to the forces of communism, reversing Christianity's once seemingly limitless expansion, and the spread of communism portended more expulsions. In first immobilizing and then expelling the missionary the CCP stripped the Protestant missionary movement of any sense that white mobility was exempt the sovereignty of non-white regimes. Adding to this sense of crisis were the currents of decolonization in Asia and Africa rising against western imperialism and threatening to throw Protestant missions into a rapid retreat around the globe.

Redeployment responded to these political and spiritual reverberations by reclaiming the mission's role in Christianity's evangelization of the Chinese outside the PRC and staking a claim for the missionary in newly independent states. The transition to the New Fields followed the Bournemouth Conference of 1951 where senior leadership voted to continue on as a mission by seeking out posts within the diaspora of overseas Chinese surrounding the PRC. As a result, the society was renamed the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF) and carried the notion that the redeployment in the New Fields was part of the "strategic retreat" wherein Christianity's triumph over would eventually triumph over communism.

The OMF's decision not to disband but instead regroup and carry on the society's commission amongst overseas Chinese in Singapore, Malaysia, Japan, Taiwan, Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Laos was intended to signify that the missionary's history in China had not been in vain and would keep alive the hope of global Christianity's expansion among overseas Chinese on the periphery of the PRC. Referred to as the New Fields, the OMF insisted that its commission and purpose reflected God's will to have Chinese Christians in the PRC face communism alone while missionaries prepared other societies for the spiritual warfare.

Certainly, redeployment redirected the OMF to a number of the Cold War's "hot spots" and rallied the prayers and contributions of evangelicals against communism. The OMF's footholds in Vietnam and Laos were abandoned and reoccupied several times amidst prolonged wars between communist movements against first French and later U.S. armed forces in the 1950s and 1960s. In Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines the OMF entered societies where communist insurrections or coups were suppressed in these same decades. Even in Japan the society feared the postwar resurgence of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP). The OMF's focus on redeploying missionaries to pockets within these countries where overseas Chinese were concentrated meant the society devoted itself to a minority population feared by many of new governments, especially in countries like Indonesia and the Philippines, of being a potential "fifth column" for communist revolutionaries. While the society's experiences in the PRC made the missionaries experts on communism and the lives of Chinese Christians in countries like the U.S., the OMF hoped its unique experience with Chinese would prove decisive in the Cold War contest for the loyalty of overseas Chinese in East and Southeast Asia.

Rapid decolonization in the region also meant the OMF missionaries relocated to societies consumed by nationalism and the potential for radical anti-western politics. The OMF arrived to set up work in many newly independent states recently free of direct rule by European powers, but also recently occupied by Japan and the U.S. such as the Philippines (1946) and Indonesia (1949). In other areas the OMF arrived as these nations underwent a gradual transition to independence from European rule such as Malaysia (1957) and Singapore (1959). In Taiwan the OMF entered a society in transition from colonial outpost of the Japanese to the last holdout of Republican China, accompanied by an influx of millions of mainlanders and U.S. aid, leaving many native Taiwanese feeling colonized by a foreign power. While Thailand had managed to remain independence from direct European control despite ceding territory in Laos, Cambodia, and Malaysia to the French and British, the nation was certainly not immune from the politics of anti-imperialism.

As the U.S. moved quickly in the Cold War to strengthen ties in the region through an influx of massive amounts of military and economic aid, the redeployment of the China missionary force raced to consolidate its sphere of influence in Southeast Asia. The OMF's post-China career in the New Fields paralleled the ambitions of U.S. cold warriors such as Henry Luce following the "loss" of China and stalemate in the Korean War. Both endeavored to halt the communist advance by creating bulwarks elsewhere in the region, and wining the loyalties of the population of overseas Chinese was a key battlefront.[374] While redeploying the society's members among overseas Chinese in the New Fields the OMF warned, "Many young Chinese from Indonesia and Malaya or other

[374] Michael H. Hunt, "East Asia in Henry Luce's 'American Century,'" *Diplomatic History,* Vol. 23, Issue 2, (Spring 1999): 321-353.

countries are returning to their homelands to see and learn the wonders of Communism."[375] Infused within the OMF's redeployment of missionaries was a desire to contain communism's spread by challenging its influences over overseas Chinese.[376]

The OMF's redeployment then should be seen as the spiritual corollary of the Cold War ideologies of containment and integration. Scholars such as Christina Klein have suggested the growing fascination in the U.S. with literature and entertainment concerned with Asia featuring the ideology of containment and longings for integration and cooperation while denying an imperialist force behind U.S. expansion.[377] I put forward that through redeployment the missionary's mobility promised to contain communism by pacifying overseas Chinese populations and integrating other Asian groups into the international order led by the U.S. by expanding the missionary's footing in these nations amidst decolonization and potential communist revolutions. But in addition to overseas Chinese and the various nationalities the OMF encountered, the society's emphasis on pioneering expanded the evangelical's aspirations for integration with "neglected" groups like the Hakka and native Taiwanese or Lisu in Thailand.

Generally speaking the OMF was supportive of the non-communist nationalist movements in the New Fields and looked upon the various social and political revolutions associated as a potential boon to evangelism, just as it had in China. Most of the society's concerns about politics pivoted on the questions of communism and religious freedom, especially any restrictions on mission evangelism. But the exodus

[375] "Survey of the New Fields," Folders 5-3, 5-4 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[376] William Inboden, "To Save China: Protestant Missionaries and Sino-American Relations," from*Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: The Soul of Containment* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008)

[377] Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism,* (2003).

from China also fed fears that anti-western forces might close "doors" to the missionary. Much of the OMF's focus on praying for these new nations was centered on keeping these societies "open" to the missionary and their populations accessible without restrictions. Redeployment was a race to occupy posts in East Asia and expand Christianity before such opportunities were lost. Consequently, the OMF also expanded its commission beyond the Chinese to include Asian "nationals," i.e. Japanese, Thai, etc. Stressing that these groups were members of "new" nations only recently awoken from "heathenism" or "darkness," the OMF's expansion would preserve the spiritual influence of the West in these countries even as European and American direct control receded.

During redeployment, however, the OMF was far less deferential than it had been a few years prior to the rights of the national churches and their spiritual sovereignty. Throughout the New Fields, the establishment of national councils of Protestant churches formed alongside political independence movements in these nations and like in China increasingly asserted the rights of indigenous groups to spiritual self-determination. In most of these countries, representatives from organizations such as the Philippine Federation of Christian Churches (1949), the Malayan Christian Council (1948), and the National Christian Council of Japan (1948) claimed sovereignty over Christian affairs within their nations. Simultaneously, as a latecomer to these nations the OMF was forced to negotiate the existing comity agreements and claims to these countries made by numerous other Protestant missions already working there.

Conversely, upon arriving in the New Fields the OMF declared the forces of Christianity in Asia outside China, both missionary and Asian Christian, far "weaker" than in China. Anticipating more expulsions, the OMF endeavored to ingrain the ethos of

evangelism within Asian churches and train Christians to resist regimes that might restrict their religious liberty. Forced to start over again and exiled in several countries outside urban areas and established Christian networks, the OMF reasserted the independence of the missionary to act outside the authority of Asian Christians. In addition, the OMF's return to pioneering evangelism fostered integration in this era, not for elites, but for "needy" or "neglected" ethnic and religious minority groups in these nations. And in trying to expand OMF links to Christians in Laos and Vietnam, the society worked to maintain relations between local Christians and the international community in areas consumed by communist revolutions and U.S. intervention.

Redeployment and Redistribution of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship

The steps taken to transition to the New Fields occurred over the course of two conferences in 1951, the first held in Kelorama, Australia and the second in Bournemouth, England. During these conferences, the society's senior leadership and delegates from the various Home Councils were assigned to conduct surveys of the current state of affairs among Protestant missions and indigenous churches in Taiwan, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Japan, and the Philippines and evaluate the feasibility of the OMF beginning work in these countries. Entering new countries required the OMF to seek out government approval and obtain visas, but also to work out agreements with other Protestant missionary forces and representatives of indigenous Christian leaders in each country.[378] In return, the OMF's initial entry into the New Fields depended heavily on cooperating with these groups. In many countries, the initial OMF missionaries

[378] Folders 1-10, 5-1, 1-2 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

depended on other Protestant missions for visas, living arrangements, and employment. In fact, OMF members primarily relocated to countries based upon invitations to work or serve with other Christian institutions.

As a result the OMF relied on a number of partnerships with other Protestant groups in these countries. In Japan, OMF missionaries worked alongside Youth for Christ agents and the Pocket Testament League. In Thailand the initial OMF missionaries were sent to work in Presbyterian Mission Schools and several members were loaned to the American Presbyterian Mission, American Baptist Mission, and the Christian and Missionary Alliance. OMF members in the Philippines first joined American missionaries working in Grace Christian High School in Manila. And in Hong Kong the Immanuel Gospel Mission and British and Foreign Bible Society were integral to helping the OMF establish its print and literature programs and ministry to refugees from the PRC.[379] In essence, the society had not yet established its own projects but was rather loaning its members to other agencies.

In finding agents to begin the OMF's work in these new areas, the retention of its current missionary personnel was essential to the society's survival during transition. Following the conferences, Deputy Director J.R. Sinton was sent to Hong Kong to meet with society members exiting the PRC to discuss their future plans and receptivity to new assignments. Thankfully, for the society, a large number of CIM junior missionaries sent to the field in 1948 and 1949 had never got beyond the language school training in Chongqing. Of these cohorts, a great number were eager to engage in mission work after

[379] Slideshows "Survey Japan," "Survey of the New Fields," "Thailand Survey" in Folders 5-3, 5-4 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

years of waiting. Many missionaries left Hong Kong straight for posts in Japan, Thailand, or the Philippines.[380]

For much of the 1950s, the majority of the OMF's members were carryovers from the mission's China days. Only in 1959 did the society finally have a majority of members who had not served in China.[381] Further, as the society continued to gather China missionaries leaving the PRC, the temporary headquarters in Hong Kong established a ministry to the refugee populations amassing in Kowloon.

Once conditions to the OMF's entry had been negotiated, the society deployed missionaries into the New Fields as quickly as possible. Already by January of 1952, the OMF had 20 members in Thailand, 12 in Japan, 13 in Malaysia, and others stationed in the Philippines and Taiwan. By that summer the OMF totaled 30 representatives in Thailand, 37 in Singapore and Malaysia, 24 in Japan, and members in India, Vietnam, and Laos. By the end of 1952, the OMF had managed to place 199 missionaries in seven countries along with Hong Kong and Singapore. Nowhere near the peak level of over 1000 missionaries attained by the society in China during its heyday, but still a remarkable achievement considering many of the society's forces were still in the process of exiting the PRC. Indeed, financing and managing the mission's withdrawal from China and entry to so many other countries made the early years of the 1950s a logistical nightmare and incredibly costly. Of the OMF's total expenditures in 1951, nearly half of the society's operating budget for the year (276,000 U.S. dollars) was spent on travel.[382] By the end of 1962 the OMF had regained something of its pre-withdrawal stature in

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[380] Slideshow, "On Your Mark," Folders 5-3, Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[381] "Graph" *East Asia Millions,* May 1964.
[382] Financial Report, *The Millions,* April 1952.

terms of size and membership with over 800 members. Of those members, however, over 200 worked for home staffs or were on furlough in North America, Europe, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. Just 576 missionaries occupied the New Fields.[383]

The core of the mission continued to come from North America and the United Kingdom. British Protestants comprised the largest nationality within the mission (228 members), with the U.S. still a major source of the society's rank and file agents in the field (220 members). Canada (103 members) and Australia (108) also provided ample contributors to the mission along with the nations of New Zealand, Switzerland, West Germany, the Netherlands, South Africa, and Ireland providing the rest of the society's members.[384] In terms of the assignment of personnel to specific countries, Malaysia (204), Thailand (198), the Philippines (95), Japan (72), Singapore (63) received the most attention from the OMF, while fewer agents were deployed in Taiwan (48), Indonesia (38), Laos (30), Hong Kong (17), and Vietnam (4). Thus, the OMF's redistribution favored the concentration of its forces in areas gradually loosed from the British Empire and its holdover in Hong Kong and nations developing under the U.S. containment umbrella.

But there were a number of other factors that influenced where and how the OMF redistributed its forces. As far as possible the OMF intended to repeat its system for advancing the Gospel as it had done in China, occupying posts first in provincial capitals and major towns, using transportation routes and commerce to "fan out" in ever greater distances.[385] However, the OMF like many other international Protestant agencies had also agreed that one principle guiding the redistribution of China missionaries was to

[383] "Statisticians at Work," *East Asia Millions*, June 1963.
[384] "Statisticians at Work," *East Asia Millions*, June 1963.
[385] John Kuhn, "Strategic Centers," *The Millions*, October 1961.

ensure that a sudden influx of personnel and resources would not "trample" the authority of local and national churches. Further, the conditions of the OMF comity agreements in many countries like Thailand pushed the OMF away from major cities like Bangkok and toward rural areas.[386]

Secondly, although the society initially set out to focus on overseas Chinese populations, the lack of a scriptural basis for targeting a distinct ethnic group while ignoring the "millions" of other Asian groups in these countries did not sit well with the OMF Overseas Council or its evangelical membership. In fact, in some societies such as Japan, the relatively low number of Chinese residents and prestige of participating in the nation's postwar reconstruction led the OMF to focus its personnel almost exclusively on Japanese from the very beginning.

Thirdly, the trajectory toward rural areas and the society's work amongst Chinese developed into an institutional objective to reach other minority groups in these countries that the OMF considered "neglected" by the established missions and the national churches. Just as in China, many of these groups were known as "tribal" groups to the OMF and its supporters, while others were "minorities" by religion, ethnicity, and or language. This feature of the OMF was most prominent in Thailand. In Yunnan, China, the OMF had worked with the Lisu, Yaochia, and Miao, and continued to witness to these "neglected tribes" across the border in northern Thailand. By the 1960s the OMF had expanded its outreach to include the Akha, Shan, Karen, and Lahu. In central and

[386] In the early 1950s a number of international and interdenominational missionary organizations met to work on arrangements for the reassigning of China missionaries in new fields. A consensus emerged among these groups that all considerations should be given to ensure that a great influx of China missionaries would not "trample" on the rights and authority of local and national churches in these areas. Further, it was agreed that missions should work to make sure that the resources and finances suddenly at redistributed from China to these countries via the missionary would not overwhelm the national churches in East Asia. Creighton Lacy, "The Missionary Exodus from China," *Pacific Affairs,* Vol. 28, No. 4 (Dec. 1955), 309-315. John Kuhn, "Statisticians at Work," *East Asia Millions*, June 1963.

southern Thailand the OMF's work included campaigns to Muslim Malaysians in the region as well.[387]

This was a facet of the OMF's program in the other countries as well, although to a lesser extent than in Thailand. In Taiwan, the OMF designated missionaries to conduct outreach to Hakka and Taiwanese. In Northern Malaysia, OMF workers evangelized the Tamil, and in Laos the OMF moved agents near the border with Thailand to reach Thai and Chinese groups. In the Philippines, the society sent missionaries to evangelize the Lowlands and encountered a number of "tribes" including the Iraya, Alangan, Batangan, Tadywan, Buhid, and Hanunuo.[388]

The focus on "neglected" or "needy" populations reflected the survey's assessment that the majority of Christian churches in the New Fields were "weak," "immature," and lacking in outreach to ethnic and religious minority groups. Surveys of Japan indicated that Japanese churches were "spiritually immature and weak in leadership." Surveys on Thailand stressed that Buddhism was a far more powerful force in society and the "Christian church weaker than anywhere else in Asia," and missionaries like Betty Schurman reported that other Protestant missions had failed to do much at all in terms of witness outside of the major cities.[389]

Once OMF agents arrived in these fields they contributed to a growing criticism of established Christianity in these countries. Leonard Street wrote in his article "First Impressions of Japan" that the Japanese church was "riddled with liberalism and dependence on foreign missionary." In the Philippines, OMF reports in the summer of

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[387] "Weekly Prayer Cycle," *East Asia Millions*, July 1965.
[388] "Weekly Prayer Cycle," *East Asia Millions*, July 1965.
[389] Slideshows "Japan Survey," "This is Thailand," in Folders 5-3, 5-4 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; "New Outreach," *China's Millions,* July 51.

1952 wrote that earlier reports on the strength of Filipino leadership and churches had been "misleading." OMF agents found the majority of churches "very weak," and their efforts at evangelism not organized or methodical in approach. Ruth Nowack's letters from her first church services in Taiwan lamented the "pathetic sermon" of Chinese clergy, and implored supporters of the need for more missionary "reinforcements."[390]

In 1952 Arnold Lea issued the definitive word on the "weakness" of Christianity in the New Fields. He wrote that in each country there were far fewer national workers and evangelists than in China, a "scarcity" of literature for study by Christians, and "even when there are churches, the comparatively low standard of Christian living make the spread of the Gospel difficult." Christian communities were ridden with the "desire to make money" and lacked devotion to study, and the forces of "superstition more binding, Islam and Buddhism stronger" in almost every country.[391] Altogether Lea stressed that OMF missionaries found Christianity far weaker than it had been in China, a sobering assessment of the immensity of the challenge faced in the New Fields.

Redeployment then departed from the OMF's policies on the indigenous church enacted in 1943. The OMF still spoke of the sovereignty of the indigenous church and need for Asian Christians to lead in evangelization, but it did not cede the right to evangelize these countries to Asian Christians. By seeking out "unevangelized" groups the OMF reasserted its independence to work outside local and national churches. However, the mission was also concerned that Asian evangelicals would suffer from association with the western missionary within the context of decolonization, nationalism, and communism. Working outside established Christian communities

[390] Ruth Nowack, "Formosa," *China's Millions*, July 52.; Leonard Street, "First Impressions of Japan," *China's Millions*, September 1952.
[391] Arnold Lea, "Mountains of Difficulty," *China's Millions*, September 1952.

allowed the OMF to both avoid "trampling" the authority of these groups and preserve its doctrinal integrity and desire for freedom from the authority of local and national churches.[392]

Ultimately, these factors influenced the pathways of redeployment to allocate most of the OMF forces in areas outside the established bases of Christianity in Southeast Asia, and facilitated the OMF's return to pioneer evangelism as its top priority. Comity agreements with local churches, national Christian councils, and other Protestant missions already established in these countries often arranged for the OMF to initiate work outside the bounds of existing Christian communities. Therefore, the OMF sent many of its agents outside of East Asia's major cities and urban districts, even in the Philippines and Japan. Secondly, based upon mission's history and commission, the OMF's assessment of the "needs" of each country prioritized reaching the "unevangelized" populations within the New Fields and working in areas unoccupied by other missions.

By the late 1950s, the majority of OMF (356) missionaries were devoted to the mission's traditional methods of evangelism and church planting. In this same period, the number of missionaries designated to work specifically at training Christian disciples was far smaller and reflected the society's more modest ambitions to evangelize through the churches and cooperate with Asian evangelists as colleagues and equals (52). However, medical work as a means to evangelism had slightly more OMF personnel involved (92). Work requiring professional skills in print and media such as literature (42) and radio (4) made do with far fewer personnel. Increasingly the society's logistical and financial

[392] Creighton Lacy, "The Missionary Exodus from China," *Pacific Affairs,* Vol. 28, No. 4 (Dec. 1955): 309-315

challenges required more OMF staff devoted to administrative work and training of its own members (77).[393]

In its approach to mission work in the New Fields, the OMF insisted that both its commission and methods remained largely unchanged from its inception under Taylor in nineteenth century China. OMF missionaries would still primarily engage in its traditional "triad" of evangelism, church planting, and discipleship training. OMF missionaries sent to areas where no church existed would engage in pioneer evangelism. Their twin objectives remained to contact as many non-Christians as humanly possible and plant churches according to the three-selfs—self-support, self-governance, and self-propagation. Other missionaries were assigned to "churches of like faith," where they would concentrate their energies on discipleship training by educating or cooperating with "national Christians." Missionaries loaned to seminaries or bible schools, along with bible teachers also worked in discipleship training. Ultimately, the various methods of discipleship training intended to create evangelists and missionaries from local populations and engrain a missionary outreach within the churches.[394]

The use of technology and new media to evangelize became increasingly important as the society faced the task of covering immense territory and reaching such diverse peoples in many different languages. Several members of the OMF were loaned to the Far East Broadcasting Company (FEBC) to help produce evangelical radio programming beamed throughout East Asia in over thirty languages. The OMF also created a "Portable Missionary Department," which loaned radios, the "portable

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393 "Statisticians at Work," *East Asia Millions,* June 1963; "Graph" *East Asia Millions,* May 1964.
394 The Overseas Manual of the China Inland Mission Overseas Missionary Fellowship, (June 1955) from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.;John Kuhn, "Statisticians at Work," *East Asia Millions*, June 1963.

missionaries," as a means to maintain constant contact with the more remote rural villages in certain countries through Christian programming beamed from the radio stations operated by TEAM.[395]

The publishing and distribution of literature, however, remained the most critical medium for evangelism other than the missionary. As the mission was expelled from China in 1951 the OMF set up a new program, the Christian Witness Press (CWP), in Hong Kong. Initially, the program disseminated gospels and evangelical tracts to mainland China, but such work became impossible in the fall of 1951. By January of 1952 the CWP refocused its efforts on the Korean War and Chinese prisoners of war held by UN forces, sending over 400,000 gospel tracts to the camps.[396] For the New Fields the CWP started by focusing on first on Mandarin-speaking populations in Thailand, using older versions of Chinese commentaries on the Gospels. In the summer of 1952, the CWP joined with the Scripture Gift Mission to produce evangelical literature in a number of the national languages of the New Fields.[397]

By the early 1960s, the CWP had distributed over 52 million Gospels and tracts across East Asia, 311,000 biographies of leading Christians and devotionals, 357,000 bible study booklets, and 116,000 gospel posters in thirty-five languages. In addition, the CWP supplied seventeen other missions with its materials for use in their fields.[398] Fear of political instability in the New Fields favored decentralization of the OMF literature program so production and distribution dispersed among centers in Bangkok, Jakarta, and

[395] "New Outreach," *China's Millions,* September 1952; "Philippines," *China's Millions,* June 1952.
[396] "New Outreach: Literature," *China's Millions,* November 1951.; "New Outreach," *China's Millions,* January 1952
[397] Kenneth Price, "Christian Witness Press," *China's Millions,* June 1952.
[398] "A Bit of a Report," *The Millions,* October 1961.

Manila, with the literature superintendent and other staff residing in Hong Kong. [399] By the late 1960s these centers produced over 7 million books, pamphlets, and posters each year. In addition, in Malaysia and the Philippines, the CWP imported thousands of English language Christian books, with sales totaling over 200,000 in 1968.[400]

One of the most important dimensions of the literature program was the development of *Dengta*, a magazine printed in Mandarin for non-Christian Chinese. Begun in the 1955, by the mid-1960s the OMF distributed the magazine in over seventy-five countries around the world, advertising it as "A Magazine on which the Sun Never Sets."[401] It had its biggest impact in Hong Kong and Taiwan where OMF missionaries provided copies in military hospitals and detention centers like Stanley Prison.[402]

There were also a number of alterations made to the OMF approach to the New Fields based upon the "lessons" drawn from the experiences of the China missionary.[403] First, having lost their entire infrastructure for mission work in China, the society enacted a number of reforms in the 1950s meant to decentralize the society in case of another expulsion. This also meant that the OMF endeavored to avoid creating the vast infrastructure of mission compounds, schools, clinics, seminaries, and other institutions it had erected in China. As far as possible, the society avoided owning any property, thereby preventing the necessity of having to transfer ownership to indigenous groups. In fact, the Overseas Manual warned against allowing "national believers" from "becoming

[399] "Facts and Figures," *East Asia Millions,* August/September, 1963.
[400] "Using Christian Ink," *East Asia Millions*, November 1968.
[401] Liu Yih-ling, "A Magazine on which the Sun Never Sets," *East Asia Millions,* October 1965.
[402]Ron Roberts, "Six Thousand Miles in Eight Minutes," *East Asia Millions,* October 1965.
[403] Dr. Lloyd Canfield, "Prayer Cover Needed for Advance," *China's Millions*, November 1952.

accustomed to missionary premises" at all.[404] As one OMF writer described the policies, the society in the New Fields was "not building for occupancy," but rather keeping their forces light and mobile.[405]Thus, OMF expansion did far less than it had in China to construct mission compounds, churches, schools, medical clinics, and hospitals, in part to make the missionary movement and its presence in these countries less stationary and more mobile.

The other critical alteration was that the OMF adopted its tactics for missionary work to facilitate resistance to communism. Inside each country, then, the OMF missionary's mobility was configured by the same two agendas as in China but with new intentions to fight communism. The first was the society's traditional imperative to fulfill the evangelical commission to take the Gospel and their own witness to all nations and peoples in ever-wider itinerations and in ever-greater numbers. Inherently, this first trajectory of missionary mobility was about soul-saving and expansion of Christianity's influence. The second pathway, discipleship training, reflected evangelical desires to integrate local Christians into the international community and facilitate their spiritual development. Through indigenous principles the OMF missionary hoped to facilitate the development of spiritual sovereignty, but to do so in a way that saw Asian Christians adopt the ideology and ethos of evangelism of the international evangelical community.

The OMF's experiences during the withdrawal, however, had also altered the meaning and intentions of pioneering and discipleship training. Now, the OMF intended to create and prepare local churches for isolation from the international community, and

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[404] The Overseas Manual of the China Inland Mission Overseas Missionary Fellowship, (June 1955) from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[405] Dr. Lloyd Canfield, "Prayer Cover Needed for Advance," *China's Millions*, November 1952.

forge communities that could withstand persecution or discrimination from government and society. Former China missionaries such as Paul Contento argued that experience showed that "the churches in China which have been able to withstand communist assault are those which have had well-trained laymen. Where the Christians were well established in doctrine and zealous witnessing, even though the leaders have been removed, the church has carried on." Thus, in the New Fields, these actions were intended to facilitate the Asian Christian's resistance to communism in the event of more expulsions.[406]

During this initial phase the redeployment of the OMF favored a return to pioneer evangelism as the means of the society's infiltration and expansion in these countries. The result was that the society's ambitions in discipleship training were much more modest than its last years in China, and the experience of the exodus led the society to attempt to proselytize using far less infrastructure. Conversely, new technologies such as radio and print emerged as key instruments for evangelism, but the society's commitment to "needy" and "neglected" groups living in rural or remote areas reflected the OMF's belief in the missionary as the ultimate medium for progress.

All of these changes to the OMF's approach to the New Fields spoke to a need for the missionary to avoid inflaming potential hostile sentiments. The imperatives to adopt simplicity in lifestyle and work and the avoidance of institution building or grand projects all hoped to avoid the missionary being seen as a facet of imperialism or exploitation.

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[406]In Singapore the OMF assisted in the construction of the Singapore Theological Seminary under the leadership of President Calvin Chao, which like the CTS was financed by the OMF and mixed staff of Chinese Christians and missionaries, and engaged in discipleship training through the creation of a Laymen's Bible Training School and Evangelistic Training Class. These classes not only trained local Christians in soul winning, preaching, and follow-up work, but were based upon the observations of the OMF China watchers and their perspectives on the struggle of Chinese Christians with communism in the PRC. Paul Contento, "Training Laymen," *China's Millions*, November 1952.

Most Protestant evangelicals believed that Chinese Christians affiliated with the missionary in the PRC suffered the worst discrimination and harassment by the CCP. By focusing primarily on pioneering, the OMF intended to limit the exposure Asian Christians in the New Fields faced in attacks from communist and anti-western groups. Seeing Chinese Christians condemned as the CCP and elements in society as the "running dogs" of the imperialism, the OMF endeavored to limit the fallout local Christians would face in the event of another expulsion and turn against the west in these countries. Mainly, the idea was that as pioneer evangelists the missionary working outside establishes Christian bases would be "expendable forces," and their withdrawal would not cripple the forces of national and local churches, leaving the Asian evangelical better prepared to defend and carry on the faith than the Chinese Christian had been.

Pioneering Evangelism, Containment, and Integration on the Home front

Inside the U.S., the OMF Home Staff's responsibilities remained the promotion of evangelical missionary interests and the recruiting, screening, and training of candidates. By 1956 in addition to the mission offices in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles the OMF established new outlets in Seattle to reach farther into the Pacific Northwest and Birmingham, Alabama to reach strongholds of evangelicals in the South.[407] New expansion efforts in the South later led the OMF to open offices in Dallas and Florida in the early 1960s.

[407]*Prayer Calendar*, Overseas Missionary Fellowship, (1956) from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

Just as it did within the New Fields, the society continued to place great value in personal contact with supporters. Certainly, there was no shortage of invitations for OMF speakers at evangelical conferences, student rallies, prayer circles, and on college campuses. In most regions, OMF workers had more invitations than could be met, and one especially zealous OMF missionary on furlough was described as "working himself almost to death" trying to meet the requests to speak the society's supporters on the West Coast.[408] Obviously, one of the great advantages the OMF held in promoting the society with U.S. audiences was the returning China missionary. OMF agents had been among the last foreign missionaries to live in China, and their claims to expertise on communism and the PRC made them popular figures within evangelical circles.

In the 1950s the OMF also continued to benefit from strong relations with key evangelical institutions and agencies in the U.S. OMF deputation workers continued to be regular visitors to Wheaton College and Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, BIOLA in Los Angeles, and Bryan University in Dayton, Tennessee. In fact, the OMF's reliance on cooperation with other mission agencies to enter the new fields seemed to create new opportunities back home. OMF workers like Cliff Paulson regularly traveled with speakers from the Sudan Interior Mission and South African General Mission in Canada. Particularly important was the society's rapport with the U.S. Inter-Varsity Fellowship, which provided invitations to OMF speakers at campuses around the country and their Missionary Training Camp each summer in Michigan.[409] But the OMF also emphasized

[408] Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, June 8 1956. Folder 4-88 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[409] Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, August 15 1956, Folder 4-88 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

that the society's expansion in the New Fields depended on expansion in the U.S. as well, and the Home Staff prioritized creating new outlets for OMF speakers and publications such as engagements at secular universities like Purdue and Duke.

One of the most diligent public speakers for the U.S. from the mid-1950s onward was newly appointed Assistant Home Director Arthur Glasser, formerly a missionary in Yunnan before the society's withdrawal. For much of this period he maintained an extensive travel itinerary across the U.S. and Canada. In particular, his first year on the job was marked by a strong commitment to travel in person to meet as many OMF supporters in North America as possible. From November of 1955 to February 1956, he visited OMF supporters across New York and Eastern Canada then flew west to Los Angeles to travel back across the country stopping in Denver, Chicago, Detroit, Boston, and then back to the offices in Philadelphia where he had several speaking engagements with local churches. It was not a job he enjoyed, describing travel in general as leaving him often "drained" physically, spiritually, and intellectually.[410]

Many of his engagements provided Glasser an opportunity to lecture evangelical college students on the OMF program of missionary work and spiritual outlook on Southeast Asia. He was a frequent guest of Wheaton College, the Conservative Baptist Seminary in Denver, Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, Bryan University in Dayton, TN, and Philadelphia School of the Bible.[411]The OMF's close relations with many colleges and seminaries afforded considerable contact with the student body. For

[410] Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, June 8 1956, Folder 4-88 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[411]Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, June 4 1956, Folder 4-88 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

instance, at Colombia Bible College, Glasser was given the chance to lecture on eight separate occasions to the faculty and student body in a single visit.[412]

Even the resignation or retirement of many of the China missionaries offered the OMF the opportunity to expand its contacts and influence among U.S. evangelicals. For instance, many of the former China hands that left the mission took pastorates or faculty positions at seminaries. J. Herbert Kane resigned from the OMF and became Dean of Providence Barrington College. The OMF Home Staff used Kane's position and status as channels for increasing the society's appeal in New England.[413]

Furloughed missionaries continued to play a critical role in the OMF's public relations in the U.S. too. The OMF's Furlough Manual advised deputation speakers to have between ten to twelve messages prepared for various types of engagements. In particular, the OMF urged missionaries to prepare messages for speaking to children or youth in Sunday schools, to communities through radio spots, missionary conference presentations, adult bible study lessons, the opening of schools or new churches, and to be prepared to provide a general overview of the entire OMF program in Asia. The most important element in each messages, the Manual declared, was to "put action into speaking," by being descriptive "did he bounce up in a jeep, wade through mud, puff up the hill, lift his feet over the stones, or drag his feet through the dust?" [414] Thus, stories of

[412] Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, June 8 1956, Folder 4-88 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[413] Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, June 7 1956, Folder 4-88 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[414] *Furlough Manual for use in North America*, Revised Edition, March 1956, from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

travel and ideas about mobility remained one of the OMF's most effective tools for captivating audiences.

Key to both Home Staff's deputation and the distribution of OMF literature among U.S. evangelicals was the work of "introducing" supporters to the nations and peoples of the New Fields and creating a sense of how the society's pioneering work was critical to the spiritual battlefronts of the Cold War. In particular, the mission's surveys, completed by the missionary teams sent to assess the potential for OMF work in each area, played an incredibly vital role in educating its members and support networks throughout the international evangelical community. The surveys constructed mental imaginaries of these locations by describing each nation's history, culture, demographics, indigenous religions, political and social landscapes, and status of foreign Christianity and native churches. Internally, selections and excerpts were disseminated and used as training materials. Externally, portions of surveys were reprinted in the pages of *China's Millions*, later renamed *The Millions* in accordance with the society's evolution. Lastly, the surveys were made into slideshows and deployed by deputation speakers traveling the U.S. on behalf of the mission.

This aspect of the OMF's public relations in the U.S. contributed to a larger cultural discourse on Asia and its importance in the Cold War. These materials were an important source of information concerning a region of growing importance as the U.S. greatly expanded its political, military, and economic power. As a result, the OMF and U.S. Home Staff shaped the meaning of the Cold War ideologies of containment and integration. The OMF pioneer was infused with the meanings of both as an adversary of communism and a force of integration between western countries and groups in East

Asia. Further, redeployment was intended to revive faith in the evangelical belief that God's divine sovereignty was immune to and above that of the nation-state. Further, as prayer materials, these surveys and reports were critical to the OMF's ideology of intelligent intercession, effectively serving as intelligence gathering on the New Fields for U.S. evangelicals to use in spiritual warfare.

The most prominent feature of the OMF's public relations in the U.S. in the 1950s was promoting the society's return to pioneer evangelism. Operating again outside the bounds of established missionary forces and indigenous Christian churches, the transition to these new countries offered the society to become "pioneers again" in "virgin fields." Slideshows and other promotional materials entitled "Virgin Fields" displayed OMF missionaries engaging in pioneer evangelism: tract distribution, market preaching, teaching young children, and presenting a constant personal witness to the "millions" of "untouched" or "unevangelized."[415]

In labeling these countries "new frontiers" the OMF disseminated a number of stereotypes about these societies and peoples as still primarily "heathen nations." Advertisements for the OMF's new work stressed that the "lands of the Far East are lands of darkness, lands of idolatry, lands without hope." Further, pictorial calendars from 1953 referred to "the millions" of Japan, Formosa, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia as peoples who "sit in darkness and bondage." Various ethnic groups like the Thai were labeled "slaves of sin and Satan."[416] A number of surveys and publications in the 1950s referred

[415] Slideshow "Virgin Fields" Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; "New Outreach," *China's Millions,* July 51.
[416] Emerson T. Frey, "Political Menace: Siam," *China's Millions,* May 1952.

to "the millions of Asia" as "neglected countries and neglected peoples."[417] OMF publications also consistently exoticized these places and peoples as Taiwan was named "The Beautiful Island," and Japan named "Cherry Blossom Land."[418] Through the OMF, U.S. evangelicals knew the majority of Asians to be heathens, exotic, beautiful, needy, and superstitious.

Just as in China stereotypes about these groups and nations were partially produced by the missionary movement. As OMF missionaries moved about their new communities, their ideas about difference and inferiority—bodily, cultural, spiritual, etc—generated a host of experiences that reinforced racial stereotypes. For example, OMF missionaries such as Alan Cole arriving in Singapore spoke of looking at a "sea of yellow" populated by, "round-faced Cantonese, swarthy Hakka folk, lean-faced Hokkien merchants; and everywhere are Chinese children, solemn and gay, clean and dirty, rich and poor."[419] Hazel Carlson described the groups she met in Thailand as "Stubborn Buddhists, Haughty Mohammeddan, Emotional Hindus."[420] Such stereotypes were also affixed to the mobility of groups encountered by the missionary in the New Fields, too.

Carlson wrote of watching Singapore's "multitudes of dark-skinned Eastern peoples," such as the "golden-skinned Burmese, paler Karen, yellow Chinese, black Indian" moving along the city's streets together…

> leisurely they go about their business or sit on the footpath and talk, or even lie down in the middle of the pavement and sleep if they feel so inclined. The noisy venders on the side, clanging pans together and shouting to make known their

[417] Slideshow "Virgin Fields" Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.;
[418] Ruth White, "Cherry Blossom Land," *China's Millions*, August 1952.
[419] Alan Cole, "China in Malaya," *China's Millions*, April 1954.
[420] Hazel Carlson, "Southeast Asia: Temples of Darkness," *China's Millions,* November 1951.

> various wares, cannot disturb these sleepers. The many beggars wend their way through crowds, bowing at the feet of the rich and stretching out their hands, unashamed, for the small pence that may be given.[421]

Such descriptions of Asians contributed to a sense of a shared Oriental background amongst the diverse ethnic, religious, and national groups the missionary met in the New Fields.

In addition, ideas about Asian mobility as stagnant, primitive, backwards, and even immobile were disseminated and reproduced by the OMF in slideshows, maps, pictures, and travel logs. Pictures and articles captioned "Travel in Java" juxtaposed the "modern" mobility of cars used by western missionaries with the "ancient" modes of travel practiced by Thai using yaks to pull carts.[422] Prayer calendars contained photographs of Thai riding elephants labeled "Taxi in North Thailand."[423] OMF writers also flooded the U.S. evangelical imaginary with stories and illustrations highlighting the exoticism of river travel in Central Thailand. Pictures and articles describing various groups laboring across the New Fields featuring animals established ideas about Asian mobility as lacking sophistication and technology. In another example, the Negritos in the Philippines were described as being among the "most pitiable and needy groups" typified by their living a "nomadic, bow and arrow life.[424]"

Stereotypes about Asian mobility were also disseminated by features and travel accounts that suggested the "bizarre" or "dangerous" ways in which Asians enjoyed

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[421] Hazel Carlson, "Southeast Asia: Temples of Darkness," *China's Millions,* November 1951.
[422] *Prayer Calendar*, Overseas Missionary Fellowship, (1953) from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[423] *Prayer Calendar*, Overseas Missionary Fellowship, (1954) from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[424] Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, April 5 1957.

transportation modes, such as the train or automobile, associated with the west and modernity. Cartoons illustrated Thai passengers using trains in "ways uncommon in the West" with passengers selling curry and Buddhist charms from the windows. Missionaries wrote of the cars being "crowded" beyond belief with passengers and "mangy dogs."[425]Dorothy Buegler wrote to readers for *The Millions* in 1965 that because "Thai love to race and passengers urge drivers on, travel by bus and by boat are almost certainly dangerous at times."[426] These modes of transportation were often symbols of modernity to western audiences. However, the consequence of missionary travel accounts was to imply that Asians typically did not experience the same "modernizing" effects as westerners from these technologies.

Contributing to these stereotypes about Asian mobility were missionary accounts of religious festivals and customs in the New Fields. Missionary accounts of lunar New Year festivities such as the Feast of Lanterns spoke of "the horrors of heathenism" exhibited in the processions of Chinese and described the "devil dancing and singing" of the Lisu in Northern Thailand.[427]Prayer reminders for "tribes" in East Asia called upon U.S. evangelicals to "pray for these tribes that they may leave their heathen dances and dance for joy because of salvation."[428] In addition, missionary accounts of Asians performing dances and rituals for folk religions referred to their movements as "under control of demons" or dominated by "superstition."[429] In addition, the repeated references

[425] Illustration, "When the Train Stops in Thailand," *China's Millions,* July 1953.
[426] "Pity the Missionary," *East Asia Millions,* December 1965.
[427] Maurine Flowers, "The Bon Festival," *China's Millions,* 1952.;November Slideshow, "This is Thailand," in Folders 5-3 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[428] Slideshow, "The New Fields," in Folders 5-3 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[429] Picture, "Indonesia," *East Asia Millions*, July 1963.

to the "bondage" of such groups contributed to the designation of Asian mobility as stifled and unfree.

As the OMF returned to being pioneers, these stereotypes of Asian mobility were often juxtaposed with the missionary's own mobility as its "Other," reproducing the ideological belief in the missionary mobility's as inherently civilized and dynamic. Further, the return to pioneer evangelism reinforced the belief in the personal contact of missionaries with "heathens" as a potential source of liberation and freedom. Marie Barham's missionary call declared that she was heading to the New Fields with the intent "to give hope to the exploited, courage to the fearful and unwanted, spiritual freedom and enlightenment to those enthralled by Satan's chains, and the Word of God in their own tongue as a tangible antidote to the blinding power of heathenism and the insidious poison of Communism."[430] Thus, an inherent sense of difference remained at the core of the missionary's mobility and the meanings it reproduced.

Redeployment as pioneers also resurrected the tropes of adventure, danger, and exoticism once typical of OMF rhetoric in China before the 1940s. Cole described his tour across Malaysia against the backdrop of the struggle between the British-led Commonwealth forces against the Malayan National Liberation Army of the Malayan Communist Party: "a jungle journey is full of surprises: here it will be an Indian bullock driver, with his team striving over a mighty fallen log, there it will be a gay group of Chinese rubber trappers, with black day-pajamas and orange head-squares. But sometimes it will be a patrol of lads in jungle green, with slouch hats and tommy guns, lads barely out of their teens, and we are reminded that within this green paradise may

[430] Marie Barham, "Testimony," *China's Millions*, June 1952

lurk death."[431] Another account from an OMF agent in Thailand told of the missionary traveling on "wild elephant paths" roamed by "evil men and dangerous beasts," and the group's pig being killed by a tiger outside their tent while they slept.[432]Further, these accounts established that the traits of the pioneer—adaptability, courage, and vigor—were the defining characteristic of the OMF missionary.

In contrast, to Asians, the western missionaries were still represented as the masters of modernity through their strategic use of technological mobility to enhance their ministry and influence. The OMF advertised how missionaries used the technological mobility of trains, buses, and boats for expanding their witness, reaching fellow passengers, extending their coverage areas, and reaching new groups. Features in *The Millions* demonstrated how "mechanized missionaries" rode scooters and motorcycles and drove vans in the Philippines and Thailand.[433] There were also many portraits of the OMF's outreach in major urban areas; as *The Millions* showed missionaries working in Hong Kong using ferries, buses, and cabs and going door to door in multi-storied apartment houses to hand out tracts.[434]

Not surprisingly, mobility still functioned as a signifier of the missionary's integration and identification with the host society and people it sought to evangelize. The missionary's movements demonstrated love and spiritual sacrifice for these communities through stories of endurance, exertion, and hardship in traveling to and fro among the "unevangelized." Traveling as did the indigenous people was even more important as the mission's policies were revised yet again to try and figure out how to

[431] Alan Cole, "China in Malaya," *China's Millions*, April 1954.
[432] "Thailand," *China's Millions,* March 1952.
[433] Picture of Raymond Frame, "Mechanized Missionary," *The Millions,* March 1957.
[434] Eric Liberty, "Ways in Which God is Working," *China's Millions,* February 1952.

live and work in new societies without being perceived as imperialists. Policies set in place by the Bournemouth Conference in 1951 asked missionaries to adopt "simplicity" in accommodation, equipment, and the style of living of the communities they inhabited.[435] Images and stories of the missionary traveling in the same fashion as locals did— on elephants, river launches, rickshaws, bicycles, or by foot— represented the society's endeavor to identify with and live amongst the people. But now the OMF was fostering identifications between U.S. evangelicals and new abstract representations of "nationals" like the Filipino and Japanese convert, "tribal" groups like the Lisu in Thailand, and overseas Chinese minority groups in several countries.

Mobility also continued to be a critical marker of conversion to Christianity, and by extension the representations of Asian Christians were associated with many of the same meanings as the missionary's mobility. Accounts of OMF converts repeatedly emphasized the vitality and energy of Christians. For example, OMF reports on the "The First All Student Retreat in Singapore" described evangelical students upon arriving for the retreat as "they tumbled out of cars, jumped from trucks, squeezed out of buses, or trekked in from the main highway."[436] Indian and Chinese Christians in Singapore were praised for their dynamic outreach and organization in utilizing public address systems and tract distribution in entertainment districts.[437] But the OMF's assessment that Christianity was far "weaker" in the New Fields than in China meant that few were ready to champion the churches and Asian evangelical work as equals in the missionary's

[435] The Overseas Manual of the China Inland Mission Overseas Missionary Fellowship, (June 1955) from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[436] Paul Contento, "The First All Student Retreat in Singapore," *China's Millions,* July 1952.
[437] Cecil Gracey, "Lights of Singapore," *China's Millions*, December 1952.

project. Rather, the primary contribution the OMF intended to make to Asian churches and Christians lay in expanding Christianity's influence and reach in society.

The return to the ideology of pioneer evangelism was complicated from the start of the OMF's entrance to the New Fields by decolonization and the Cold War. The portrait of these nations and peoples as "heathen" was undermined from the very beginning by increasing awareness of the profound transformations taking place in the region since the end of the Second Global War. Japan, in particular, was often singled out as an "advanced country." In fact, OMF writers and speakers usually referred to Japan as a society where "civilization and heathenism exist together," and OMF missionaries noted that the Japanese were already well familiar with western civilization and industrialization. Soon, OMF missionaries were reporting that "Japan is not the pioneering field that China was," the general population already far more exposed to "progress" and "scientific development."[438]

That some fields occupied by the OMF were thus more advanced and less "heathen" gave the society greater hope for the region's future. Optimistic voices within the OMF pointed to the potential of the Japanese becoming the leading source of East Asia's evangelism. Noting the high degree of education of most citizens, OMF surveys characterized the Japanese as an "aggressive and dynamic race." An anecdote in March 1952 told of the introduction of American apples by an American missionary to Japanese culture in the recent past. The author stated, "This shows—everybody knows this—that when Japanese see a good thing and want it they soon get it and spread it far and wide."[439] Such descriptions implied hope for the OMF project if Japanese could be

[438] Ruth White, "Cherry Blossom Land," *China's Millions*, August 1952.
[439] "Japan," *China's Millions,* March 1952.

converted to the missionary cause. Certainly, Japan's once mighty imperial influence on many of the countries of the New Fields was not lost upon the OMF, rather the society aspired to have the missionary movement exploit the Japanese's expansionist tendencies to their own ends.

The OMF testified to indicators of "progress" and advancement" in many of the other countries as well. Surveys told prayer supporters "the word 'Thai' means free, and this little country is one of the few free lands of Asia," and the society is one of the "most prosperous and peaceful in Asia." OMF missionary Dorothy Buegler described both the people and the government in Thailand as having "high ideals and modern ambitions." [440] Taiwan was also represented as one of the last "strongholds" of freedom in the region, and Indonesia called "the Youngest Republic.[441] The Filipino people were characterized as "hungry for education."[442]

Increasingly, then OMF propagated the idea that decolonization and nationalism were "awakening" these "heathen" societies from their "stagnation." For example the OMF superintendent of Indonesia George Steed describe Indonesia as "a new nation, ninety-seven million people, fourth largest nation in the world!" Similar to the OMF's rhetoric about the New China emerging after the Asia Pacific War, these "new" nations were as dynamic as they were volatile. Steed alerted readers to the region's growing anti-imperialism and sensitivity to issues of race, "With all the vigor and explosive potential

[440] Dorothy Buelger, "In Central Thailand," *China's Millions,* September 1952.
[441] "Survey of the New Fields," in Folders 5-3, 5-4 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.
[442] Survey of the New Fields,"in Folders 5-3 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

of youth, they watch without regret the passing of the 'invincible' white man."[443] Such accounts both excited and troubled the OMF and its supporters and contributed to the sense that the OMF had arrived in these societies at a critical juncture in history.

The OMF saw these various societies as ripe for evangelism, theorizing that rapid societal and political changes laid to waste indigenous beliefs and ideas creating a spiritual vacuum. In Indonesia OMF missionaries declared there were, "Ninety million people in a land of revolution and change, looking for something to hold on to, something constant, some rock on which to build their new national and individual personality. Ninety million people looking for God."[444] Into such contexts the OMF retained its core belief in the power of the missionary as a dynamic force capable of filling such needs for both the individual and the nation.

In another example, OMF missionary Mac Bradshaw postulated, "Revolution makes people more open to change. It tends to loosen the iron grip of old religions on the masses. Thus the upheaval is creating an opportunity for evangelism perhaps unparalleled in the world today." Even more promising was the ways in which these revolutions transformed the masses into dynamic movements. Bradshaw continued, "revolution makes people into activists," and harnessing the "energy" unleashed by nationalism and decolonization toward the spread of the Gospel was the great missionary challenge of the era. The missionary challenged evangelical Christians to imagine, "What if this revolutionary urge to do something—anything—could be channeled into consistent

[443]George Steed, "Indonesia," *China's Millions,* July 1963.
[444] "It Has to Be in Your Bones," *China's Millions*, October 1961.

Christian witness—and this in a country whose masses were susceptible to change?"[445] Similar sentiments existed among OMF agents in every country.

And just as in China, the OMF propagated the idea that the forces "awakening" these societies had divided many nations into two distinct categories of "heathens," one "modern" and another "primitive." For instance, in a 1962 feature on "Training Nationals," an OMF member wrote, "There is a wide gap between the aboriginal primitive of the Philippines jungles and the sophisticated Asiatic of Singapore's suburbs."[446] Where the OMF encountered "modern" converts, the missionary's priority was discipleship training, teaching them how to move as free and dynamic individuals of faith. And in areas dominated by "primitive" groups, the motive was to foster spiritual liberation from false religion through pioneer evangelism and church planting.

But communism's victory in China robbed evangelicals of their sense that the path to modernity lay with the West, and thus this same recognition of the nations and peoples of the New Fields as "awakened" caused as much dread and fear as it did excitement in the context of the Cold War. OMF publications stressed that the missionary's work in many areas might be only temporary, "The door to many is open now. How long it will remain so, who can tell, but our responsibility is take the fullest advantage possible."[447] Testimony from the society's China missionaries about their experiences in China fueled evangelical fears about communism's dynamic organizational power and efficacy in mobilizing the masses. For example, Barbara Beck Longley wrote of the "tremendous things" she had seen the CCP accomplish in China during her tenure, "Young people carried away with a new ideology which is perhaps the

[445] Mac Bradshaw, "Revolution: Help or Hindrance in Evangelism," *East Asia Millions*, May 1965
[446] "Training Nationals," *The Millions*, 1962.
[447] "New Outreach: Literature," *China's Millions,* November 1951.

cleverest counterfeit of Christianity in the world today. A whole nation, almost overnight has become organized to an incredible degree."[448] Despite the evangelical's belief in the primacy of saving individual souls, fears about communism's power to transform the masses left the pioneering missionary at times seeming impotent by comparison. Further, the spiritual vacuum decolonization produced was just as ripe for communism, the "counterfeit of Christianity" to exploit, as it was for them.

Against the backdrop of the Cold War, however, the OMF championed the transition to the New Fields as proof of God's divine sovereignty. The withdrawal and redeployment was a sign of the "tide turning" in spiritual war that raged inside and outside China. Slideshows stated that the entry into the New Fields signified that "month after month missionaries were coming home, forced out of China, now new and urgent doors are opened." Pictures of missionaries setting out for Japan or Thailand from Philadelphia, Toronto, and London were labeled "reinforcements." Deputation workers told U.S. audiences, "ejection has set free hundreds of new servants to meet the needs of East Asia." In October of 1951 Deputy Director John Sinton declared his faith that in the spread of Christianity this "planned" withdrawal would "result in a greater advance."[449] Just as evangelicals insisted that it was God, and not the communists who had closed the "door" to mission work in the PRC, the OMF advertised that God had opened the "doors" to the New Fields. Fred Mitchell called the withdrawal God's giving the society a "passport to go into all the world."[450]

Keeping "doors" open for the OMF and aiding the society's expansion became the top prayer objectives for the home audiences. Articles entitled "Prayer Cover Needed

[448]Barbara Beck Longley, "Tremendous Things," *China's Millions,* December 1951.
[449] John Sinton, "A Changed Situation," *China's Millions,* October 1951.
[450] Fred Mitchell, "Let Us Go On," *China's Millions,* January 1952.

for Advance" used the analogy of modern warfare's use of aerial bombardments. Prayer supporters were invited to launch "barrages of prayer" on the New Fields and their diverse social and ethnic groups to pave the way for the OMF missionary's spread of the Gospel.[451] Missionaries such as Alfred Bosshardt wrote to evangelicals in the U.S. that it was their responsibility to pray "doors" to remain "open" in nations threatened by communist regimes like Vietnam.[452] Despite the exodus from China, OMF missionaries claimed that evangelicals still possessed the power to influence the political and spiritual destinies of the rest of the region, "now is the moment when prayer can influence the future."[453] That a dramatic expansion of Christianity was needed in these countries to save them from communism was internal to such statements.

The exodus from China and subsequent political and social revolutions taking place in the region in the 1950s and 1960s imparted an apocalyptic urgency to the society's mission. The society's yearly anthology for 1952, entitled *Ready Sandals* declared the missionary's motto "pioneer or perish," and throughout the 1950s the society's top priority was to expand the evangelical witness as far and wide as possible.[454] The mission's new General Director J. Oswald Sanders described expansion as the key to winning the spiritual war, "What we do we must do quickly. The times in which we live and the world in which we live demand it. We must throw everything we have into the warfare. We must be aggressive."[455] These declarations produced a zero-sum outlook on the missionary's mobility in the New Fields, the missionary provided the opportunity to contain communism and integrate groups into the international order led by the U.S.

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[451] Dr. Lloyd Canfield, "Prayer Cover Needed for Advance," *China's Millions*, November 1952.
[452] Rose and Alfred Bosshardt, "Pray for Door to be Opened Wide," *China's Millions,* May 1952.
[453] David Bentley Taylor, "Malaya," *China's Millions*, September 1951.
[454] Advertisement, *China's Millions,* August 1953
[455] Anne Hazelton, "Keynote Sounded by Our General Director," *China's Millions,* November 1954

Where they could not go marked regions "untouched" by the spiritual antidote to communism.

The OMF was redeploying missionaries as "reinforcements" to create bulwarks against communism and provide much needed assistance to Asian Christians in societies threatened with isolation from the international community. By relocating to the New Fields the OMF also "reinforced" the local and national churches of Asia and authority of Asian Christians by furthering their reach and witness in society. Through pioneering, the OMF missionary was "planting seeds" in the form of converts and churches that could withstand communist revolutions. As bible teachers or through student evangelism, the OMF missionary trained Filipino youth or Lisu evangelists how to carry on witness and combat communist ideology. Other accounts of the OMF's entry into the New Fields demonstrated the society's contributions to fighting communism amongst urban youth as OMF agents participated in events like the Filipino Youth Conference on Christianity and Communism.[456] And in Japan the OMF declared that missionaries battled with the return of hyper-nationalism and the Japanese Communist Party for the youth's imagination.[457]

For the OMF and its supporters the most important struggle was the contest over the CCP and PRC's image among overseas Chinese. In the 1950s, OMF slideshows informed supporters of the mission that the popularity of the regime among overseas Chinese in many places ran high, according to the OMF, because of strong national loyalties and sentiments. Sending OMF missionaries to these populations reflected fears of these groups as a "fifth column" as mentioned earlier by combating communism through spiritual containment. For example, in Malaysia as the outgoing British

[456] Margaret Dyke, "Testimony," *China's Millions,* May 1952.
[457] Maurine Flowers, "The Bon Festival," *China's Millions,* 1952.

authorities suppressed communist revolutionaries in the countryside, the OMF's work led the society's missionaries directly into conflict with communism. Fear of Chinese populations as a breeding ground for communist guerilla movements also led the British to forcefully resettle over 400,000 Chinese in Malaysia beginning in 1950s into the "New Villages." Much of the OMF program in Malaysia in the 1950s focused on Chinese forcefully moved to these resettlement camps, which the OMF labeled "battlefields for the souls of this country," and surveys and reports from Malaysia suggested the value of missionaries in pacifying overseas Chinese and collaborating with regimes in containing them from communist influence.[458] The OMF praised the camps for providing Chinese civilians with safety and protection from harassment by the Malayan Communist Party, and also for the ease with which it made evangelism, "praise God for taking scattered Chinese into compact settlement homes."[459] A frequent image disseminated by the OMF then was that of the missionary partnered with the resettlement officer, the latter hoping to convert Chinese into " citizen" and the former hoping to mold new Christians.

The society's initial work in Indonesia was similarly geared toward containing the spread of communism amongst minority Chinese groups. In 1952 a map introducing readers to Indonesia countries paired with the article "A Race for the Souls of Men" suggested that "no area barred to missionaries" in the country.[460] In fact, government officials had issued invitations for the mission to work in military camps, hospitals,

[458]Filmstrip, "Introducing Malaya," from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[459] Filmstrip, "Introducing Malaya," from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[460]Map of Indonesia, Frank Harris, "A Race for the Souls of Men," *China's Millions,* August 1952.

prisons, and radio programs geared toward Chinese.[461] OMF publications also featured missionaries working in detention camps, attempting to rehabilitate combatants by converting them to Christianity. Missionaries reported teaching Chinese women to sing "Come and Believe in Jesus," by using the popular tune "Kill the Englishman, Kill Him Now, and Kill the Spy, Kill Him Now."[462] Thus, the OMF shared with various regimes in Indonesia and Malaysia fear and suspicion of overseas Chinese populations as the breading grounds communist insurgencies and participated in their rehabilitation and assimilation into society.

This effort to contain communism's spread amongst overseas Chinese was made to seem all the more important to the Cold War and future of missions to Asia by the OMF since Chinese were a highly influential and mobile group. Within each nation, the OMF built the sense that overseas Chinese enjoyed a great deal of social mobility and influence. Surveys about the OMF's work in Thailand overseas Chinese were singled out as being prominent within the business community and a major faction in the social and political life of cities like Bangkok, and the slides contained photos of Chinese doctors, pastors, and educators. In Malaysia, the OMF told U.S. evangelicals that many Chinese families were quite wealthy and enjoyed homes remarkably similar to their own complete with radios, refrigerators, and even American automobiles. And of course, OMF surveys displayed photographs of refugee classes of bureaucrats, educators, pastors, and students crossing "Freedom Bridge" for Hong Kong and Taiwan with OMF missionaries following in their wake. In fact, despite being a minority group the OMF stressed that throughout the New Fields many overseas Chinese in countries like Indonesia or the

[461] "New Outreach," *China's Millions,* January 1952.
[462] "Malaya" *China's Millions*, July 1952.

Philippines as far more "cosmopolitan" than Chinese in the PRC and affluent with political and social clout that could influence the trajectory of each nation.[463]

Secondly, the OMF made evangelicals aware of the transnational flows of overseas Chinese across these countries through connections to back to the PRC and their familial, racial, and commercial ties to overseas Chinese in other countries. Feared as a potential "fifth column," their mobility was seen as a potentially threatening and subversive to the international order led by the U.S. and the Protestant missionary endeavor emanating from the West. However, the OMF also invited hopes among evangelicals that by winning overseas Chinese groups to the faith they could in turn be a powerful force for integration across the New Fields. If converted missions like the OMF could capitalize these transnational ties and the overseas Chinese's mobility to advance the Gospel.

Communism and false religions were not the only enemies of the missionary. The OMF's movement to the New Fields was also understood as an effort to stave of aggressive and anti-western forms of nationalism. In Japan, the OMF claimed the presence of the missionary contested the return of the sort of aggressive nationalism that led Japan to empire and war, and the expansion of evangelical Christianity portrayed as a partner in Japan's reconstruction as a peaceful member of the international order. The OMF participated in these projects by combating the "superstition" and "heathenism" of Shinto priests and temples that had contributed to emperor worship from returning to

[463] Slideshows "Survey Japan," "Survey of the New Fields," "Thailand Survey" in Folders 5-3, 5-4 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.; *China's Millions,* February 1952.

prominence in society.[464] In Taiwan, the OMF notified evangelicals that "explosive" currents of "nationalistic ferment" meant "riots could break out against Americans at any time."[465]

Return to the society's roots in rural areas was also seen as a challenge to communism's use of peasant mobilization. OMF members such as Cyril Faulkner claimed that the Chinese revolution proved that the missionary movement had concentrated too much time and energy in the cities, largely ignoring the rural masses that propelled the CCP to victory. In the New Fields, he envisioned the OMF's return to pioneering as a chance to prevent communism from infiltrating and forming bases of support among peasants in Thailand and other nations.[466]

As the 1950s wore on the occupation of nations stricken by civil war and communist insurgencies focused the attention of U.S. evangelicals on new groups of Asian Christians threatened with spiritual isolation. OMF publications reported on the deaths and arrests of missionaries in Vietnam in the 1960s and spoke of Christian gatherings "held in spite of bombs, bulldozers, and bullets." In 1968, mission publications reported on Vietnamese Christians and western missionaries fleeing the Tet Offensive's assault on Saigon, complete with pictures of fathers and children fleeing the violence in the streets. In Laos, in the late 1960s, the OMF rallied prayer requests for gospel campaigns, which the OMF advertised as "perhaps last to be held" in the "war-racked" country.[467]

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[464] Slideshow "Japan Survey," in Folders 5-3 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.;
[465] J. Oswald Sanders to Arthur Glasser, May 28 1959.
[466] Cyril Faulkner, "First Impressions of Central Thailand," *China's Millions,* November 52.
[467] "Gospel Campaigns in War-racked Laos," *East Asia Millions,* October 1968.

By deploying missionaries to countries like Laos and Vietnam, the OMF kept U.S. evangelical attention focused on the spiritual ramifications of the Cold War in East Asia. OMF missionaries implored their evangelical audiences back home to ask for God's divine intervention to restrain communist forces in both countries in order for the missionaries to continue their work.[468] OMF coverage on Laos and Vietnam labored to keep a world consumed by the geopolitics of the Cold War aware of the spiritual consequences of these wars in East Asia. Missionary reports highlighted the difficulties of fledgling Vietnamese evangelical churches struggling to maintain fellowship in war torn countries.[469]

Certainly there was a militant rhetoric to the OMF's redeployment and a tone of spiritual conquest latent within the ideology of the pioneer. OMF publications frequently referred to the society's forces entering the field as an "invasion" or missionaries as "soldiers of the cross." [470]The society's survey of Japan declared that whereas the U.S and Allied forces had taught the Japanese the meaning of unconditional surrender politically and militarily, the OMF missionaries intended to show them the "spiritual" equivalent.

In addition, publicity materials for the New Fields often framed the OMF's entry within the context of each nation's colonial past. A major emphasis of these histories was to educate OMF supporters that similar to China the OMF was entering societies where Christianity was associated with imperialism and many groups would meet the presence of the missionary with hostility. By describing each nation's path to independence and anti-colonial struggles, the OMF redeployment suggested that in the wake of imperialism's recession the international order emanating from the West would continue

[468] "Stalemate In Laos," *East Asia Millions*, June 1963.
[469] J. Oswald Sanders, "On the Battlefront in Vietnam," *East Asia Millions,* May 1966.
[470] "The Tribes of the Philippines," *China's Millions,* June 1952.

to expand and exert influence on these nations. OMF authors noted that despite the removal of direct military and political control of nations like the U.S. in the Philippines, with OMF missionaries relocated to the area U.S. evangelicals retained the power to exercise prayerful intercession to advance evangelism and missionary influence in the country. With the return of pioneer evangelism and repeated references to redeployment as an "invasion" and missionaries as "soldiers of the cross" the missionary's mobility sustained notions of spiritual conquest even as political and economic hegemony was challenged.[471]

However, by the early 1960s pleas that the forces of Christianity were being outgunned and outmatched were common from the OMF and its members. Increasingly, voices inside and outside the OMF were crying out that evangelicals were losing ground in the spiritual war in the New Fields but also at home. Certainly, the OMF contributed to an apocalyptic outlook and even a strong sense of defeatism among evangelicals. OMF reports stressed that missionary's now worked in a "hostile world," where they faced "atheistic communism, extreme nationalism, resurgent ethnic religions, secularism, and corrupted forms of Christianity."[472] There were also notes of resignation evident in the voices of OMF missionaries in the face of communism's advance, as one member wrote following their withdrawal from Laos in July 1961, "Laos has been our Isaac. If God desires that it be offered up, we are prepared to obey."[473]

[471] "The Tribes of the Philippines," *China's Millions,* June 1952.

[472] "June Wheaton Declaration," *East Asia Millions*, May 1966.
[473]"Laos Missionaries Not Making Time," *The Millions*, July 1961.

Conclusion

In leaving China and setting out for the New Fields the OMF missionary's mobility took on new meanings, promising not just spiritual liberation but the creation of bulwarks against communism and integration of new communities into the international evangelical community. However, unlike in China the conditions of the OMF's entry and work in the New Fields and anxiety over the possibility of more "doors" closing to the evangelical missionary led the OMF to abandon working as allies with elite groups of Asians, instead focusing again on reaching the "unevangelized." While U.S. cold warriors like Luce allied with the likes of Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan, the OMF labored to forge ties between U.S. evangelicals and "neglected" groups like the Hakka and native Taiwanese.

But in returning to pioneering the OMF missionary's mobility did not produce ideas about equality or desires to strengthen the spiritual sovereignty of Christians and churches in these countries. Rather, the race to pioneer and expand evangelical Christianity amidst the Cold War and decolonization reflected a desire to shore up and preserve the access of western evangelical Christianity to these societies before such an opportunity was lost. Instead, he missionary's mobility symbolized a panic over the spread of revolutionary currents in the New Fields and potentially threatening mobility of classes such as overseas Chinese in the wake of the society's exodus from the PRC. Taming self-determination, guiding its spiritual and political expressions toward the international community order led by the U.S and the Protestant missionary movement underwrote the missionary's mobility.

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Chapter 5

Strategic Dilemmas: Integration and Evangelism as a Human Right in the New Fields, 1961-1970

Introduction

Donald Cook first felt called to being a missionary to the "Orient" during his time as an Air Force Navigator in the Asia Pacific War. He felt called to working with the OMF later while attending Wheaton College after reading the CIM's publications like *The Life of Hudson Taylor* and listening to then General Director Houghton speak to the student body. By the time he was ready for the field, however, the "Bamboo Curtain" had already been raised around China and the CIM expelled. Instead, Cook and his wife were bound first for Singapore to start language training at the new international headquarters of the now renamed OMF in 1956 and by late 1957 had arrived in Japan for their first assignment.[474]

Despite the momentous shifts surrounding Protestant missions in the 1950s and 1960s the methods of pioneer evangelism in the New Fields were remarkably similar to those once practiced in China prior to the 1940s When the Cooks arrived in Japan the OMF already had around forty missionaries engaging in work, primarily near Hokkaido. OMF agents went itinerating throughout the area by the standard means of tent evangelism or renting local theatres and public halls for evangelistic services.[475] Working in areas "away from the mainstream" of the Protestant missionary movement centered around Tokyo, the OMF worked in very small towns in the north. As in China, the

[474] Interview of Donald Arthur Cook by Jennifer Abe, November 15, 1983, T1, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[475] "Missionary of Tomorrow," Compiled by Arnold J. Lea, (1962), Records of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Section 3, Folder 9-7, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

seasons and weather were a major factor influencing the missionary's work and life. During the winters little evangelism could be done, but during the summer months OMF missionaries like Cook went out on campaigns of tent evangelism and completed wide itinerations. On other days he spent his time "tramping" around the streets and busy areas in larger cities trying to make contact with non-Christians and win an audience. It was a very tedious and slow process, and the churches spawned by the OMF around Hokkaido were very small congregations.[476]

His work was limited in part because of his language skills. For an entire year after arriving in Japan, he continued to study language, but even then he never mastered enough Japanese to effectively preach. Mostly, Cook's training helped him communicate enough to "get by for personal needs." He relied on local Japanese Christians to accompany him and lead worship at meetings and services. But because they were working largely outside of established churches, there were very few locals available and willing to help. Japanese pastors and evangelists rarely visited the region, preferring like the "mainstream" missions to work in and around Tokyo.

The linguistic barrier was a hindrance to many other workers as well. A colleague of Cook's in the OMF had the same rudimentary language skills as he did, having spent twenty-five years working in China, the man struggled to acquire a new language in Japan. Mostly, Cook saw the former China hand rely on going house to house leaving tracts on the doors to carry the gospel to the Japanese.[477]

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[476] Interview of Donald Arthur Cook by Jennifer Abe, November 15, 1983, T1 Collection 259, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[477] Interview of Donald Arthur Cook by Jennifer Abe, November 15, 1983, T1 Collection 259, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

According to Cook, the OMF's approach to Hokkaido's evangelization was at odds with the approach of most Japanese Christians. At various points throughout the OMF's work in Japan in the 1950s and 1960s Japanese Christians advised the society that evangelism should first target cities, then work on cultivating Christians from urban areas to take the gospel to smaller towns and rural areas. "Country" Christians, these Japanese evangelicals stated, would arrive in cities as a "nobody" and would fail to win audiences and souls. Urban Japanese, however, would immediately be received in smaller towns with respect and authority. It was an idea that Cook said the mission ultimately realized as sound after twenty years, and thus reconfigured its approach.[478] In essence, the OMF endeavored to evangelize from the "bottom-up" and going directly to the people, while Japanese Christians argued that the attention of urban-elites were the key to disseminating the gospel.

After two years, Cook was reassigned to work as an administrative agent in Tokyo. Due to his prior work experience in business, he was put in charge of planning and distributing the mission's supplies. His relocation meant that his duties had little at all to do with preaching and he had very little contact with congregations. He found the lack of contact with the people and fellowship in worship frustrating. In contrast with the work of the pioneer, Cook believed that the administrative side of missions was not the most thrilling or spiritually gratifying work, but it was the sort of work increasingly necessary to maintain the OMF's vision for East Asia.[479]

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[478] Interview of Donald Arthur Cook by Jennifer Abe, November 15, 1983, T1 Collection 259, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[479] Interview of Donald Arthur Cook by Jennifer Abe, November 15, 1983, T1 Collection 259, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

Cook's relocation to Tokyo and assignment to administrative work spoke to larger shifts away from pioneer evangelism within the OMF and back to an emphasis on a church-centric approach to evangelism, and prioritization on outreach to youth and urban elites. By 1962 the OMF was promoting the image of Asian evangelicals as the "Missionary of Tomorrow." The society's Overseas Director Arnold Lea wrote…

> God is moving—moving in the hearts of young Asian Christians. In the colleges of America, in the Chinese churches in London, Paris, New York, in the Overseas Christian Fellowship in Australia, in the Universities of Singapore and Hong Kong, and in many other places (besides) there are Asian Christians dedicating themselves to full-time service with the thought of missionary work uppermost in their hearts and plans.[480]

The Asian evangelicals' missionary impulse was also evident in their traffic across national borders as he saw, "already Japanese have gone to Laos, Chinese to India, Filipinos to Indonesia, Koreans to Thailand while more still prepare to enter other lands besides."[481] There would even come a day, he predicted, in which Asian evangelicals would lead campaigns in Africa and perhaps even "heathen England."[482]

Based upon this vision of the future of evangelism in Asia, Lea predicted the OMF would rebalance its forces to focus on "strengthening" Asian churches and working with them as allies. He argued "God still has a work for the western missionary, provided it is not done independently, but rather alongside eastern colleagues whom it is

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[480] "Missionary of Tomorrow," Compiled by Arnold J. Lea, (1962), Records of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Section 3, Folder 9-7, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[481] "Missionary of Tomorrow," Compiled by Arnold J. Lea, (1962), Records of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Section 3, Folder 9-7, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[482] "Missionary of Tomorrow," Compiled by Arnold J. Lea, (1962), Records of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Section 3, Folder 9-7, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

recognized will increasingly be making the main thrust."[483] Just as in 1943 the OMF used the image of the Asian and western missionary moving together as the symbol of a new era of relations, "Missionary work of tomorrow we anticipate will see dedicated Asians in the vanguard but with many western colleagues shoulder to shoulder with them, pressing forward in the great task of bringing back the King."[484] But Lea also expected many of the OMF's agents to transition roles like that of the Cooks in Tokyo, calling their work "out of sight" while as "strategic and vital" as the work of the Asian pioneers. Other OMF agents would focus much more of their time on generating and facilitating this missionary commitment amongst Asian churches through discipleship training and bible teaching. Lea expressed his "deep desire to see the Asian church reach maturity and fullness through spearheading its own ministry and outreach" and charged the OMF with creating a "wave of concern" among Asian evangelicals to take up the missionary call.[485]

Underneath the OMF's effusive praise for Asian churches and evangelicals as symbols of a new era and increasing recognition of their right to lead the region's evangelization, however, was a pervading sense of crisis surrounding the Protestant missionary movement in the 1960s. On the home front Lea acknowledged the society was faced "with increasing volume voices which proclaim that the era of missions is over," with "a mighty surge of nationalism" frequently opposed the western missionary's presence in Asia.[486] Lea argued that the assumption of leadership by Asian evangelicals was in part because of tightening restrictions faced by white, western missionaries in the

[483] "Missionary of Tomorrow," Compiled by Arnold J. Lea, (1962), Records of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Section 3, Folder 9-7, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[484] "Missionary of Tomorrow," Compiled by Arnold J. Lea, (1962), Records of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Section 3, Folder 9-7, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[485] Arnold J. Lea, "Thinking Ahead," *East Asia Millions,* March 1963.
[486] "Missionary of Tomorrow," Compiled by Arnold J. Lea, (1962), Records of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Section 3, Folder 9-7, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

field, "Not many years ago the missionary from the west could travel freely where he wished. Today visas are essential and difficult to obtain, even impossible at times."[487]

Internally, the OMF also suffered in the 1950s and early 1960s from fears that amidst rapid social, economic, and political transformations in Asia, the return to pioneer evangelism had been a "strategic" mistake. The struggles of the OMF to enter and expand in the New Fields and debates about the "strategic" value of the OMF's work revealed growing doubts in the missionary as a dynamic and progressive movement. The sense that pioneer evangelism was a tactical blunder stemmed from OMF anxieties that the forces of communism and revived "false" religions such as Islam were far more influential with the most modern, mobile, and dynamic Asian groups.

Complicating this crisis were charges of racial discrimination and prejudice leveled as the missionary in general, but also specifically at the OMF for its exclusion of Asians from membership in the society. These charges were amplified by world attention to civil rights, segregation, and racial equality in the 1960s. Within this context criticism mounted in the home countries and in the New Fields against the OMF's ideas about the indigenous church and exclusion of Asians from membership. Historian Mary Dudziak's *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* discusses how international attention and criticism of racial discrimination and segregation in the U.S. challenged the nation's power and leadership at home and abroad in the context of the Cold War.[488] Similarly, the exclusion of Asians, residing in the home countries and the

[487] "Missionary of Tomorrow," Compiled by Arnold J. Lea, (1962), Records of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Section 3, Folder 9-7, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[488] Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000)

New Fields, tarnished the society's reputation as an "international" agency committed to racial equality.

In response to these challenges, by the mid-1960s the OMF was once again championing the idea of a church-centric focus for missionary work and pushing for the integration of the western missionary and the Asian Christian. Integration and the church-centric approach were the OMF's solutions to the changing circumstances surrounding the missionary including industrialization, population growth, mass education, and urbanization. The return to a church-centric approach also led the OMF to revive the idea that the evangelical missionary contributed to nation-building and spiritual self-determination. For example, Lea argued that it was increasingly necessary for the western missionary to make a "contribution" through his or her work that benefitted not just the churches of Asia but the peoples and governments as well. For U.S. evangelicals, this goal paralleled the Kennedy administration's elevation of financial and technical aid to promote state-building and modernization to a top priority in foreign policy, especially as OMF members like Cook primarily worked as missionaries in administrative offices rather than in public view as evangelists.

In addition, the OMF gradually integrated the society with Asian Christians, both in the home countries and abroad. By late 1964 the OMF set upon a course to abandon its "western" identity and orientation and become a truly "international" force.[489] Once again the OMF set about selling U.S. evangelicals, white and Asian, on the idea of cooperation and equality grounded in an ideology of mobility.

[489] "The New Instrument," *East Asia Millions*, December 1964.

However, integration and the return to a church-centric focus was a reactive response to various challenges facing the OMF since the 1950s. I argue these shifts in OMF policy and ideology were motivated by fear that the international evangelical community was "losing" Asia, a fear that scholars such as Christina Klein argue was prevalent in U.S. culture. At the same, I also put forward that the OMF feared that Americans and other white westerners were "losing" both the missionary impulse to participate directly in Asia's transformation and the privileged mobility that went with this identity. With the missionary increasingly held up by intellectuals in the Atlantic and the Pacific as the symbol of imperialism and naiveté in foreign relations, the OMF endeavored to keep alive the idea that the white, western missionary had a religious right to go anywhere and proselytize to anyone. Through integration the OMF sought Asian allies supportive of the society's vision for evangelizing Southeast Asia and white, western missionary mobility. Further, by joining with Asian evangelicals and abandoning the society's "western" orientation the OMF sought to overcome the

A Strategic Dilemma

By the late 1950s a number of factors had produced severe doubts about the evangelical missionary project in East and Southeast Asia. For one, the OMF no longer dealt with just one government but several and securing visas for missionaries from these regimes often proved difficult. Visa requirements in Thailand in the 1960s, for example, often forced OMF members to leave the country and then re-enter to renew their visas, disrupting the society's work. At other times, OMF staff from the International Headquarters was delayed in conducting tours in several countries by the need for several

permits or visas from different governments.[490] In sum, in the 1950s the logistics and politics of conducting missionary work were far more complicated and difficult to manage.

There were also various governmental regulations on religion that limited the OMF's witness and activities. For example, in Malaysia, proselytizing to the dominant Muslim population was largely prohibited in the 1950s and early 1960s. As a result the OMF also faced a number of restrictions that limited their dissemination of educational materials, radio, and literature in the public sphere.[491]Restrictions on missionary work were most stringent in Indonesia. There the Christian Witness Press, part of the publishing arm of the OMF, struggled in the 1950s to secure the facilities needed to produce Christian literature inside the country, and permits for importing the society's materials were difficult to obtain for much of the decade.[492] For several years in the late 1950s and early 1960s, issues of *Dengta* were prohibited by the government from being distributed amongst Chinese in Indonesia, whom had years earlier accounted for over 25% of the magazine's subscribers in the New Fields. At other times laws barred the import of bibles.[493]

And, of course, there was the very real hostility and even violence OMF members faced in many countries, at times forcing missionaries to abandon their posts. This was most prominent in Vietnam and Laos. In Malaysia in the 1950s many OMF members

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[490] Arnold Lea, "Mountains of Difficulty," *The Millions,* September 1952.;"Missionary of Tomorrow," Compiled by Arnold J. Lea, (1962), Records of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Section 3, Folder 9-7, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.; "Testimonies of New Recruits," *East Asia Millions*, August/September 1964.
[491] Arnold J. Lea, "Speaking Frankly," *East Asia Millions*, February 1965.; "Malaysia: Religious Freedom," *East Asia Millions*, February 1965.
[492] "Chinese Literature to Be Banned," *East Asia Millions,* February 1961.;Ron and Gwen Roberts, "*Dengta* Re-enters Indonesia," *East Asia Millions*, October 1964.
[493] Ron and Gwen Roberts, "*Dengta* Re-enters Indonesia," *East Asia Millions*, October 1964.

were too fearful to travel on highways, busses, or venture outside the Chinese resettlement camps. OMF missionary Hayden Mellsop wrote, "Europeans, generally speaking, do not travel by bus, for no quarter is shown to such if they are caught by Reds."[494] Albert Grant later recalled in 1962 that for much of the 1950s, traveling was so hazardous that he refused to go anywhere without armed escorts.[495] In addition, in the 1960s, OMF agents were forced out of southern Laos and areas in Northern Thailand, and OMF reports from Saigon in the late 1960s highlighted the society's efforts to build a student movement as the Vietcong's Tet Offensive surrounded the city. Although the society had weathered and outlasted communist insurgencies in Malaysia, Philippines, and Indonesia, the OMF's struggle to maintain a foothold in Laos and Vietnam again raised alarms that communism's expansion was outpacing the missionary's. [496]

Outside of logistics and the safety of personnel, the region's volatility impacted the OMF financially, too. Fluctuating exchange rates and sudden crashes in the values of currencies impeded the OMF's work in many nations like Laos and Thailand experienced coups and prolonged civil war. Even in relatively more stable nations like the Philippines, the society failed to secure the same preferential exchange rates enjoyed by other Protestant agencies.[497] All of these factors greatly hindered the OMF's expansion and limited the exercise of mobility by its agents in the field.

But there were cultural and institutional factors slowing the OMF's penetration of the New Fields as well. While the OMF had relocated to occupy many new regions

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[494] Hayden Mellsop, "Hayden Mellsop Takes a Trip to Malaya," *China's Millions*, November 1951.
[495] Albert Grant, "Malaya Bookstore Grows Up," *East Asia Millions*, October 1962.
[496] "Laos Missionaries Not Making Time," *East Asia Millions* July 1961; Paul Contento, "While Saigon Burned: With Chinese Youth in Vietnam," *East Asia Millions*, May 1968.; "A Training Center for Graduates in Asia," *East Asia Millions*, June 1969.
[497] Letter from J. Oswald Sanders to Arthur Glasser, August 25 1959.

quickly in the 1950s, their lack of familiarity with the customs, languages, and social behaviors of various groups frustrated the society's work and influence. In many of the new countries, such as Japan, the language barrier forced OMF members to concentrate solely on language study for as many as two full years before being able to engage in any actual missionary service.[498]

Even amongst the overseas Chinese populations, the society's China missionaries found their years of experience far less valuable than they had hoped. Initially, the OMF expected that the society's experiences in China would ease its penetration of the New Fields. For instance, Hayden Mellsop wrote that in Malaysia the OMF missionary's Mandarin skills were "opening doors" and "forging friends," and in northern Thailand the mission encountered members of the Lisu tribes from Yunnan who had been members of CIM-affiliated churches.[499]But their linguistic experience was far less helpful than the society planned. OMF officials were dismayed upon learning from their surveys in Thailand that despite large Chinese populations, 80% spoke Swatow and 15% Cantonese. Even in Hong Kong, the dominance of Cantonese and the OMF's training in Mandarin left missionaries struggling to communicate with locals.[500] OMF missionaries arriving in Thailand reported that life and work were "so different" than China as they faced new climates, people, languages, and experiences.[501] Various missionaries in Malaysia

[498] "New Outreach," *The Millions*, July 1952-Add in Survey
[499] Hayden Mellsop, "Hayden Mellsop Takes a Trip to Malaya," *China's Millions*, November 1951.
[500] "New Outreach: Thailand," *The Millions*, March 1952.; "Thailand Survey" in Folders 5-3, 5-4 from Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.
[501] "New Outreach: Thailand," *The Millions*, March 1952.

reported feeling "impotent" as they stood amongst "Chinese not speaking Chinese," unable to understand a word being said by the groups around them.[502]

Certainly, there was a sense that in the transition to the New Fields the OMF was "starting over" from "scratch." OMF missionaries wrote about their lives in the new countries and struggles with references and comparisons to the missionaries of the CIM in the 19th century.[503] But "starting over" meant that the OMF's spread and influence in the New Fields was far more modest than the prestige it accumulated over a century of work in China. As one missionary who had relocated to Malaysia explained, "In China we went into stations where work had already been done and where in most cases there was a large or small group of Christians. Now we go where no work has ever been done."[504] Like Cook, many missionaries were sent to areas where they lacked native, fluent Christian helpers to aid their work. And without servants, OMF missionaries found too much of their day consumed by chores and errands from their daily lives, as one member wrote to home audiences, "This means doing our own shopping, cooking, washing, ironing, cleaning, and so on, as well as seeking to learn a new language and get out among the people." The OMF reminded evangelicals that such activities kept the missionary bogged down inside their homes studying or taking care of chores that limited their hours to devote to evangelism or training converts, and prayer reminders asked U.S. evangelicals to pray for capable servants for the missionary to "free" them up for concentrating on spiritual tasks.[505]

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[502] Arnold Lea, "Mountains of Difficulty," *The Millions,* September 1952."
[503] D. Bentley Taylor, "Recommissioned," *The Millions*, April 1952.
[504] D. Bentley Taylor, "Recommissioned," *The Millions*, April 1952.
[505] "New Outreach: Malaya," *The Millions*, April 1952.

The absence of the infrastructure used by the mission in China slowed the spread of the OMF's literature program too. In the early 1950s, printing and producing such literature far outpaced the ease at which the society distributed these materials. Without the established distribution networks it was accustomed to inside China the OMF struggled to forge new channels. That there was no uniform system or plan for distributing literature in these countries meant that the Field Superintendents in each area were forced to improvise their own strategies for marketing and disseminating literature.

All of these factors compounded the OMF's strong sense of "loss" in the 1950s and 1960s. Numerous missionaries referenced the "pain" or "hurt" of leaving China and their Chinese colleagues behind for new assignments. As Raymond Frame moved to the Philippines he felt his mind drawn back to memories of China, "It is almost like calling to mind the loved countenance of some dear one of whom we have recently been bereaved." As he surveyed his work in Manila he thought of how another China missionary had described it as "like gazing contemplatively at some new young virgins before the earth has dried on the grave of one's own wife."[506] Thus, while these "virgin fields" were often romanticized and gendered as the "other" to be conquered by the pioneer, missionary testimony also revealed a flagging spirit and enthusiasm for the work of spiritual conquest and aggressive expansion.

This sense of "loss" stemmed from the OMF's belief that China had the strongest and best-trained Christian churches and evangelists in all of Asia. OMF writers like Paul Contento argued that in "losing" China to communism, Christianity had lost the "light of Asia" and was dealt a huge blow to the expansion of Christianity in the New Fields. He

[506]Raymond Frame, "From Vessel to Vessel," *China's Millions*, November 1951.

claimed that a great majority of the region's Christian churches and institutions had depended upon the services of pastors, evangelists, and bible-women coming from China. The isolation of the "Bamboo Curtain" had cut off this much-needed source of well-trained and educated clergy from aiding in the evangelization of Thailand, Singapore, and Malaysia.[507]

In general, then the OMF struggled to "fan out" as it had in China due to the absence of extraterritorial privileges that had accelerated its penetration of the Chinese interior in the 19th and 20th centuries. These struggles created a growing anxiety and doubt in the "progress" of evangelical Christianity's expansion. Secondly, fears about stagnation in the New Fields grew from the lack of traditional signifiers of Christianity's expansion. The OMF and its supporters openly acknowledged that in terms of territory, Christianity's expansion had halted and even risked receding again and again due to decolonization and the Cold War. But this was also because in consciously avoiding the construction of schools, clinics, and churches, the OMF denied evangelicals important public and visible markers of Christianity's influence on nations occupied by the missionary.

More importantly, the belief in the missionary's mobility as a signifier of divine sovereignty was challenged by the events in the Asia in the 1950s and 1960s. It was difficult for the OMF to reconcile evangelical beliefs in divine sovereignty and the ability of the individual to discern God's will with the setbacks the society suffered in many regions like Laos. OMF writers encouraged readers to see that "by opening and closing and reopening doors, God is guiding us to concentrate our energies on work he knows to

[507] Paul Contento, "The Singapore Seminary," *The Millions*, September 1952.

be important."[508] But even the firmest evangelical faith would struggle to understand God's design behind allowing OMF missionaries to enter nations like Laos only for them to be forced to leave a few weeks after arriving in the 1960s.[509] OMF representatives faced U.S. supporters asking "why God allows such a state of affairs," when discussing the violence, political instability, and hostility surrounding the missionary's work in East Asia.[510]

The OMF's trials and tribulations in the field progressively eroded belief that in the missionary's mobility one could ascertain God's will. Debates about the ability of Christians to know and understand the almighty's providence were among the most controversial in this era. Within evangelical circles, books such as Elisabeth Elliot's *No Graven Image* were popular and yet widely criticized for suggesting the inability of human beings to understand God's will and by extension God's desire for world evangelization in the sending of missionaries abroad.[511] Scholar Sarah Ruble writes "By throwing God's will into question, Elliot transgressed the limits of acceptable evangelical dissent. God, evangelical texts had declared throughout the 1960s, desired evangelization."[512] And yet, while it is certainly true of the OMF that it never wavered as an institution in its belief in God's desire for world evangelization, the mission's struggles did suggest the uncertainty of knowing the almighty's design in how to do so.

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[508]"Laos Facing the Hard Questions Raised by the Present Crisis," *The Millions*, July 1960.; John Kuhn, "Five Years in Laos," *East Asia Millions*, June 1963.
[509] "Laos Facing the Hard Questions Raised by the Present Crisis," *The Millions*, July 1960.John Kuhn, "Five Years in Laos," *East Asia Millions*, June 1963.
[510] "A Window and a Door," *East Asia Millions,* May 1961.; "Laos Facing the Hard Questions Raised by the Present Crisis," *The Millions*, July 1960.
[511] Sarah Ruble, *The Gospel of Freedom and Power,* pgs. 73-74.
[512] Sarah Ruble, *The Gospel of Freedom and Power,* pgs. 74.

For example, an OMF member reporting on the society's departure from Laos wrote, "God has purposes in the world today we know nothing about."[513]

The idea that "planned" withdrawals such as the exodus from China created further "advances" for Christianity in new areas was waning. The uncertainty in seeing and understanding God's plans behind the missionary's mobility led to debates about the ideology, methods, and practices of the OMF. Because commentators suggested that the Cultural Revolution in China had eradicated Chinese Christianity in the PRC, the meanings associated with the missionary's advancement were less clear.

The problems encountered in the OMF's expansion in the New Fields contributed to this crisis by exacerbating fears of Christianity's retreat and communism's advance. Despite rallying Christians to rise to the challenge of spiritual warfare in Asia, the OMF quite frequently perpetuated a sense of despair and defeatism among evangelicals. In the early 1960s, the OMF leadership acknowledged that anti-Christian forces in the region had grown "stronger and more militant" than when the OMF had first been redeployed.[514] Calls for increasing the OMF's literature program in the early 1960s stressed, "literature is being so extensively used by the forces of evil that those who seek the true welfare of the people are at a loss to know why Christian forces are so far behind in seizing this valuable opportunity of reaching the people."[515] Lamentations about the lack of commitment of U.S. evangelicals to the Protestant missionary project contributed to fears that Christianity was outgunned and outmanned.

Worse, recognition of explosive population growth in East and Southeast Asia made the missionary's commission seem increasingly impossible to fulfill. An OMF

[513] "Laos Missionaries Not Making Time," *East Asia Millions*, July 1961
[514] "Has the Day of Missions Passed," *East Asia Millions*, April 1964
[515] "Our Literature Strategy," *East Asia Millions*, October 1961.

writer in 1964 suggested in his article "One Billion Souls Lost?" that outside of Christianity's confrontation with communism, recognition of the region's population growth was perhaps the "great theological issue of the day." OMF supporters were especially troubled by the awareness that there were more than twice as many Chinese living in the world in the 1960s than when the society was founded in the 1860s. As one OMF member wrote in 1962, "the solemn fact of the population explosion of our day—with the continued cold war and the closing doors to mission lands—means that we have little time left to reach this generation with Christ."[516] Such statements reflected growing doubts about pioneer evangelism as the means to accomplish such a feat, and a need for a dramatic shift in tactics or ideology to fulfill the society's commission.

These problems in the field were compounded by issues on the home front in the relationship between the OMF and U.S. evangelicals. As the OMF transitioned into the New Fields, the society struggled to retain its preeminence in the U.S. among Protestant evangelicals. The Overseas Council feared that in the U.S. while "the possibilities for the Kingdom of God in this country are tremendous," the mission suffered from "weaknesses in public relations and loss of confidence in mission leadership."[517] Further, the correspondence of Arthur Glasser, Assistant Home Director for North America, and J. Oswald Sanders, Overseas Director, reveals the OMF fretted that the society had lost the "public voice of the CIM" following the exodus from China, and feared that the OMF's spiritual support networks and prayer circles in the U.S. were lagging.

Signs of the society's waning influence were evident in a number of crucial areas. While North America still provided a "tremendous reservoir for personnel and funds,"

[516] Yap Swee lien, "Why Evangelistic Campaigns," *East Asia Millions*, November 1962.
[517]Letter from J. Oswald Sanders to Arthur Glasser, July 17 1955

reports in the late 1950s suggested the OMF's revenues had stagnated and it was "losing ground" to other Protestant missions. When adjusted for inflation, in fact, the society's support from North America had not grown since the 1930s. [518] Further, recruitment of missionary candidates was plagued by a number of defections, and there was a seemingly tepid response from U.S. evangelicals to the OMF campaign to send 184 new missionaries to Asia by 1959.[519]

There were also suspicions that the OMF had lost its appeal to American men, as there was a growing disparity in numbers between male and female candidates and junior missionaries. For many decades, the number of women sent by the U.S. to the field had outnumbered men at a ratio of 2 to 1. But in 1961, the ratio in a new batch of junior missionaries climbed to 4 to 1 in favor of women. Glasser urged the Overseas Council that such a "dearth could create a real problem in administration and field work," and advised that finding "men of finest quality" was a top priority.[520] The society's gender bias in favor of men for executive and administrative positions, and specialized posts in areas such medicine or radio, led the U.S. Home Staff and Overseas Council to fear the consequences of losing its appeal with men.

Beyond operations, these were problems of great ideological significance. For instance, as an institution the OMF believed that, "missionary candidates are very tangible evidence that, so far as God is concerned, the day of missions is not yet over." Internally, many OMF members and supporters believed the reverse as well. Lagging financial contributions, difficulties in finding candidates and retaining them once they hit

[518] Letter from J. Oswald Sanders to Arthur Glasser, April 5 1957.
[519] Letter from Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, November 25 1959.; Letter from Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, October 26, 1961.;
[520] Letter from Overseas Council to Members of U.S. Home Council, July 20 1961.

the field, and a lack of virility and masculinity within the OMF from a dearth of male missionaries had unnerving spiritual implications. Within the context of debates on the "end" of the age of the missionary such issues were of even greater importance. In essence, the OMF's expansion and progress toward evangelizing Asia was stalling in both the Pacific and the Atlantic, and why that was so was a question of profound spiritual significance.

The Overseas Council and U.S. Home Staff also worried about how the society was perceived by U.S. evangelicals in this period. At various points the U.S. Home Staff faced accusations from leading Christian Cold warriors about the society's anti-communist and evangelical credentials. Hard-line ideologues like Fred Schwarz and the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) pressured the OMF to be more aggressive in their anti-communist rhetoric.[521] Worse, in 1962 Carl McIntire singled the OMF out as a "compromising mission" in *The Christian Beacon* and stated that the society had contributed to the CCP's rise in China by failing to take a hard position against liberal-modernism and communism.[522] In essence, some U.S. evangelicals accused the OMF of being "soft" on communism and its "fellow-travelers" among the liberal modernist variant of Protestantism, who many evangelicals blamed for watering down the Christian faith and leaving foreign Christians more susceptible to leftist ideologies like communism.

Occasionally, U.S. evangelicals attacked the methodology and practices of the OMF's missionary work. One furloughed missionary, Ralph Tolliver, wrote to Glasser informing him that on his deputation tour, audiences had implied that the OMF's methods

[521] Letter from Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, July 15, 1960.
[522] Letter from Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, March 16, 1962.

were not "contemporary enough" and lacked a "sanctified imagination." Other U.S. evangelicals voiced fears that the society had sacrificed its independence and doctrinal integrity in depending on cooperation with the national churches and denominational missions to gain access to the New Fields during redeployment. Quite frequently the society's supporters questioned the representatives of the Home Staff in the U.S. about whether or not cooperation had allowed "the threat of liberalism" to water down the mission's evangelical creed.[523] Such fears expressed concerns that the OMF was still solidly within the evangelical camp and doubts as to whether or not the OMF missionary's work truly advanced containment.

A greater concern for the U.S. Home Staff was that U.S. evangelicals no longer sensed the OMF was forging ahead in the New Fields. In 1956 Glasser reported to OMF senior leadership that U.S. supporters lacked a sense of an "advance" being created by the mission, and he feared Americans saw the OMF programs as "static" in their outreach to Asians. He implored the OMF to give greater publicity to the society's planning, strategy, and progress in reports and publications and embody the principle that "missionary work must be dynamic in its outreach."[524] More troubling for Glasser to report in 1958 was that many U.S. evangelicals believed the OMF force in many nations was "melting away."[525]

These various issues all spoke to growing debates inside and outside the OMF concerning the "strategic" value of pioneer evangelism. By the early 1960s even the Assistant Home Director was among the evangelical voices calling for an overhaul of the OMF's approach to the New Fields. Dating back into the 1950s in his letters to the

[523] Letter from J. Oswald Sanders to Arthur Glasser, November 5, 1963; Letter from Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, June 1957.
[524]Letter from Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, May 25 1956.
[525]Letter from Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, June 1958.

Overseas Council, he had argued for emphasizing areas of missionary work and groups in the New Fields that were of greater "strategic value." This included doing far more student evangelism and outreach in urban areas. Particularly, Glasser was impressed by the "strategic significance" of cities and the importance of capturing the educated classes in East and Southeast Asia.

He felt that a great obstacle to these objectives was the comity agreements arranged with the national churches and established missions in the New Fields following the exodus. In nations such as Thailand, the OMF had accepted limitations upon its work in cities such as Bangkok that made reaching the educated masses of urban areas largely impossible. This was especially troubling to Glasser since he believed that the best and brightest youth in rural areas worked by the OMF in nations like Malasyia and Thailand left for the cities, where greater opportunities for education and employment were found. In the late 1950s, he implored the Overseas Council to review such agreements and perhaps even violate comity if necessary to reach these key demographics.

Glasser's desire to re-evaluate the OMF's priorities became public when the North American edition of *The Millions* featured an editorial he wrote called "February Theses," in May 1961. The publication recounted a number of declarations issued at a meeting of the Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship at Wheaton College that he had attended. Copying the tone and style of Lenin's April theses, Glasser intended the piece to be an "evangelical response to the revolutionary ferment" facing Protestant missions.[526] Many readers, however, took his editorial as stern criticism of the OMF's current operations in the field.

[526] Arthur Glasser, "Editorial-February Theses," *East Asia Millions*, May 1961.

In the editorial, Glasser asked that Christian evangelicals recognize a number of "facts" that should guide the revitalization of the missionary project. Among them was that decolonization proved "the western orientation of the world is falling apart—and rapidly," and Asia and Africa's explosive population growth meant that it was "physically impossible" to think that the missionary force from western countries could "evangelize all the people of this generation." Other important notions included that "there is the possibility of a future worldwide triumph of Marxist-nationalism prior to Christ's return," and that one of the most important developments in world affairs was the rapid spread of urbanization and industrial development in post-colonial states.[527]

In all these points Glasser was largely in agreement with the OMF's Overseas Council and outlook on the New Fields. But in the conclusions that he drew from these facts, Glasser appeared to break radically from the OMF's official perspective. He argued "when strategic considerations are paramount, not all peoples overseas can be regarded as equally important." Certain nations, linguistic groups, and ethnicities, he urged his readers, were of far less importance for evangelicals to reach than others.[528] In essence, the Cold War and rapid transformations taking place in Asia made some souls of more "strategic" value to the missionary than others.

As a result, Glasser argued for a renewed emphasis on a church-centric approach to missions and restructuring of evangelism to make a bid to capture the hearts and minds of elites in those societies most advanced in terms of technology and industry. The "primary central objective" of mission work, he insisted, was to create in "every country vigorous evangelical churches" in "those segments of society that culturally and

[527] Arthur Glasser, "Editorial-February Theses," *East Asia Millions*, May 1961.
[528] Arthur Glasser, "Editorial-February Theses," *East Asia Millions*, May 1961.

materially are capable of accepting responsibility for the rest of the people of the country." By focusing on major urban centers, the evangelical missionary could allow the dynamics of urbanization to reach rural areas too, as he declared "country towns and rural areas witness their able, ambitious, vigorous young people moving forward to the cities." Further, the development of mass education and rising literacy in these cities meant the missionary should devise strategies and messages to reach the masses, but more especially "the universities, the intellectuals, and even the communists" and various professional classes. Reaching these groups might require more emphasis on developing literature programs and mass media like the radio.[529]

In many ways Glasser's editorial harkened back to the society's ideology in returning to China post-1943. But he also hinted that "true" cooperation and integration had eluded the movement in the past, writing that, "missionaries must cease talking of working under national leadership and start practicing it." If evangelists were to succeed in their program to reach the world, then the missionary's integration into the local and national churches was of vital importance, and training national leadership for outreach and missionary work of greater "strategic" value than pioneering or church planting. Rather than ignore or bypass "weak" churches in large cities, he argued it was far easier and faster to "strengthen existing" congregations than to plant and create a new body.[530]

As a result, the editorial put forward a number of projects that should be considered "low" priorities including work with tribal groups, linguistic study, and work in rural areas. In explaining this to readers, he claimed that when missions worked in rural areas, these converts often proved ineffective in proselytizing amongst urban

[529] Arthur Glasser, "Editorial-February Theses," *East Asia Millions*, May 1961.
[530] Arthur Glasser, "Editorial-February Theses," *East Asia Millions*, May 1961.

populations because they were reaching out to their cultural "equal or superior." Instead, he stated that urban Christians had a far easier time in reaching their rural counterparts, who was often a "cultural inferior." Using the well-known "Auca" tribe of Ecuador as an example, Glasser made light of the thought that these "primitive" groups had the ability to succeed in modern and industrial urban environments as evangelists and Christian leaders.[531] Thus, in arguing for a reform of missions, Glasser cast off rural and many ethnic minorities in the New Fiels as the social and cultural inferiors of elites and urban populations, who he believed were of greater "strategic" importance to the spiritual conflict in Asia.

The editorial also claimed that current crises surrounding Protestant missions stemmed in part from the lack of planning behind missionary work according to these "strategic" priorities. To a far greater degree, liberal-modernists, Roman Catholics, and even communists recognized these facts and had proven effective in disseminating their ideology and cultivating disciples. Where the evangelical had failed, according to Glasser, was that it had allowed "sentiments" to rule the disposition of its forces and thrown in its lot with the region's most marginalized, and thus least influential, groups. As a result these rivals had outmaneuvered the evangelical missionary in the contest for the hearts and minds of Asia.[532]

The response from U.S. supporters questioning the import of Glasser's article prompted a reply that fall entitled "Strategic Centers" from Field Superintendent of Thailand John Kuhn and a short statement from Glasser clarifying the voice of his editorial. Backing away from the implications of his piece, he stated that his article did

[531] Arthur Glasser, "Editorial-February Theses," *East Asia Millions*, May 1961.
[532] Arthur Glasser, "Editorial-February Theses," *East Asia Millions*, May 1961.

not reflect the official views of either the ICVF or OMF, and instead Kuhn's article was intended to reflect the mission's outlook from "the vantage point of where he serves—on the front lines, in the thick of the battle in the Far East."[533]

Kuhn's reply reassured supporters that the OMF plan for evangelizing the New Fields was biblical and traditional based upon decades of experience in China, and yet sufficiently "strategic" and contemporary to face the challenges of the times. He further pointed to the society's work amongst youth and urban populations in Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Manila, Saigon, Singapore, and Djarkarta. But he was adamant that "tribal" work was worth the time, energy, and focus of a missionary couple, perhaps even three or four individuals, even if the group numbered just a few thousand individuals. He implored readers, "for if the missionary does not take up this challenge, who will? Neighboring churches, not having the burden or vision, make it imperative that we accept the challenge." Kuhn's response then argued that the society had not neglected "strategic" types of evangelism or groups in the New Fields, while defending the idea that all souls were of equal importance even in the context of the Cold War.[534]

However, after a decade of pioneering in the New Fields, Glasser's "theses" and Kuhn's response revealed deep-seated doubts within and outside the OMF in the efficacy of pioneer evangelism. By insinuating that the return to pioneer evangelism had been a "strategic" mistake, Glasser's editorial contributed to fears that the OMF's approach was increasingly outdated, haphazard, and lacking in the dynamism to compete with rivals like the communists. Undoubtedly, many supporters wondered how the most vocal and prominent face of the OMF in the U.S. could have ushered such a sweeping and negative

[533] John Kuhn, "Strategic Centers," *East Asia Millions*, October 1961.
[534] John Kuhn, "Strategic Centers," *East Asia Millions*, October 1961.

appraisal of his own society's work, labeling many of the key features of the OMF's pioneer work "low priority" in the grand scheme of Christianity's spiritual struggle in Asia. Even as Kuhn and the OMF fought against such notions, evangelicals were increasingly anxious that the pioneering missionary was isolated from the societal groups likely to decide the post-colonial fate of the New Fields.

The Racial Dilemma

Another critical dilemma faced by the OMF in the mid-1950s was its position on Asian membership in the society. With few exceptions, the society refused to employ Asian Christians from the New Fields. The official position of the OMF was that Asian Christianswere the right and obligation of their respective national churches according to the principles of the three-selfs. The society defended the policy by citing the risk that employing "locals" in an age of decolonization risked the condemnation of such groups as the "running dogs" of western imperialism. Also of concern was that Asians would accuse the society of using its greater financial resources to pilfer leading evangelists and clergy away from the churches.[535] However, Asian evangelicals increasingly challenged this policy and the society's status as an "international mission."

The knowledge that Chinese-Americans and other Asians residing in countries like the U.S. were excluded from membership in the OMF contributed to these accusations. The OMF's position on Asian-American membership in the Overseas Manual stated, "prejudice on the grounds of either racial or national differences must be regarded as sub-Christian and non-scriptural," and pointed to "the fact that during the last few years of the Mission's history in China (the society's missionaries) worked not only

[535] Denis Lane, "The OMF and the Churches," *East Asia Millions*, August-September 1967; *The Overseas Manual of the China Inland Mission Overseas Missionary Fellowship*, (1955), p. 23.

alongside Chinese brethren but also under their authority and direction was practical evidence that we entertained no thought of any intrinsic superiority of race over another." However, though Chinese Americans were U.S. "nationals," the society asserted "to receive nationals as missionaries or to send missionaries of the same race though born abroad, would be a policy difficult to reconcile with the accepted indigenous principles."[536] In essence, the society justified excluding Chinese Americans on the basis that the indigenous church's sovereignty extended to racial brethren.

In the eyes of the OMF, the Chinese-American's racial identity trumped his or her national citizenship. The core of the OMF's logic behind this position spoke to a belief that although at a political level groups like Chinese Americans were citizens of the U.S., culturally, spiritually, and racially they remained immigrants. Even more interesting was that the OMF's position suggested that in the case of Asian evangelicals the priority of the indigenous church's sovereignty over racial brethren took precedence over the individual's choice to participate in the international community. That no such rules or principles governed the membership of white missionaries from a number of countries was further evidence of the position's racism.

In the mid-1950s, however, U.S. Home Staff workers faced questions from interested Chinese-Americans about applying to the mission. For many OMF representatives it was an awkward issue to confront, especially as delegates responded to inquiries of Chinese-Americans from traditional feeder institutions like Wheaton College and Faith Evangelical Seminary. That applicants with such backgrounds were denied

[536] *The Overseas Manual of the China Inland Mission Overseas Missionary Fellowship*, (1955), p. 23.

membership solely on the basis of race gave rise to vocal criticism of the society's ideas about racial equality.

Glasser, in particular, strained to explain the society's position to audiences in the 1950s. Faced with questions and applications from American-born Chinese, he could point to no biblical basis for denying "non-Caucasians" a place in the OMF. He wrote to the society's Overseas Director, J. Oswald Sanders, "times are changing and the tides of feeling regarding Christian attitudes toward the racial problem are mounting rather than receding. I hate the idea of being backed into what can easily become an indefensible position." He had just such an experience before a group of OMF supporters in Ontario. When asked if the OMF had ever employed Asian missionaries, Glasser awkwardly responded the society included Jewish, Eurasian, Italian, and American Indian members, but never an Asian missionary. Years later Glasser would again be mortified as his then colleague at the Fuller Seminary School of World Missions Professor Hoover Wong recognized him as the man who had denied his application to join the OMF in the 1950s.[537]

Increasingly, Glasser warned the Overseas Council that the OMF's position on the "race problem" was behind the "times" and out of step with the other U.S. evangelical mission leaders. That same year at a Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies conference, Glasser watched Dr. Clyde Taylor lead a lengthy panel discussion of missionaries and American clergy on the same dilemma. Overwhelmingly, the group reached the consensus that any denial purely on the basis of race was unjust, and already organizations like the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association were declaring

[537] Letter from Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, December 20, 1955.; Interview of Arthur Glasser by Bob Shuster, April 17, 1995, Collection 421, T5 from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

their societies open to and actively recruiting Chinese-Americans as missionaries in the U.S.[538]

Acknowledging Glasser's points, Sanders replied to the U.S. Home Staff that to admit Chinese and other Asians into the society would mean alterations to the society's rules on interracial marriage. Sanders had strong reservations about such a change in policy, "It is not that we would consider them at all inferior to us but the tragic results of such unions is well known to us." Cryptically, Sanders referred to the necessity of the OMF as an institution to discourage interracial relations and demonstrate to prospective candidates that such unions and their resulting "progeny" were "unwise." But he also recognized that such issues of race were "more acute" in the U.S. than other home countries of the OMF. As a result, Sanders directed Glasser to investigate the policies of other missions for further review and debate by the Overseas Council. [539]

To Glasser's annoyance, the society lost out on a valuable opportunity to recruit and train Chinese Americans in the U.S. Former missionaries Alfred and Helen Gould reached out to the U.S. Home Staff to find a mission that would allow Chinese-Americans to serve as members. The Goulds were working with a Chinese Christian church in Detroit and traveled North America in the 1950s recruiting Chinese to serve as missionaries. As part of their outreach, the Goulds provided the OMF with a list of names and addresses of all foreign-born Chinese residing in North America and several surveys of Chinese American communities.[540]

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[538] Letter from Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, December 20, 1955.
[539] Letter to Arthur Glasser from J. Oswald Sanders, December 19, 1955.
[540] Letter from Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, December 20, 1955.; Letter from Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, February 28, 1956.; Letter from J. Oswald Sanders to Arthur Glasser, February 6 1956.

Collaborating with the Goulds, the OMF urged Chinese in North America to take up the call as missionaries, but not as members of the OMF. From this information, the Home Staff prepared a massive registry and mailing list for the Christian Witness Press in Hong Kong who sent publications like *The Life of Hudson Taylor* to these Chinese individuals and families. In addition, OMF members used the lists as prayer materials, hoping to produce a movement of overseas Chinese trained in the west to flow back to Asia Pacific as missionaries. But the OMF officially declined working directly with the Goulds and Chinese American missionaries, instead, referring them to agencies such as the Latin American Mission.[541] Ultimately, the society's racist views still denied Asians the chance to partake in the OMF's "international" community of evangelicals working in the Asia Pacific despite professing strong desires for Asians to heed the call to missionary service.

Glasser ultimately proved right in seeing the racial issue as only becoming more pressing in the U.S. as the OMF stalled and debated the question of Asian membership internally into the 1960s, a decade of intense political and cultural ferment surrounded issues of Civil Rights. By then the seminal contests of the Civil Rights movement were underway in the U.S. South, pushing the issue of racial integration to the forefront of American life. By 1965 the Immigration and Nationality Act would repeal the discriminatory quotas governing immigration policy since the 1920s that excluded Asians and Africans and provided pathways to citizenship for non-whites. Against mounting pressures across society for racial integration and inclusion, the OMF's policies excluding Asians from membership smacked of a "separate but equal" outlook that many

[541] Letter from Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, December 20, 1955

such as Glasser pointed to as a critical factor retarding the society's advance on both fronts of the spiritual battle.

A New Instrument

Confronted with revolutionary changes in nations in Asia and questions about racial discrimination in the U.S., the OMF returned to a church centric focus in the early 1960s and gradually moved toward integration with Asian Christians at home and abroad. In 1962 following a tour of the fields by the Overseas Director, the Overseas Council announced a special report revaluating the mission's priorities and tactics. The report concluded that redeployment had failed to develop and "strengthen" the churches and was revising the society's plans for evangelism to once again be church-centric. Especially in urban areas, the OMF intended to use churches to launch mass evangelism campaigns and was investigating the successes of Latin American missions in utilizing such methods. To that end, the OMF announced that it would abandon some of the society's original comity agreements that limited their cooperation with established churches and targeting of urban populations.[542]

A top priority was to accelerate the OMF's integration with Asian evangelical churches and organizations in the New Fields. Sanders wrote that the decisions had been motivated by the desire to make the mission "indistinguishable and inseparable" from churches of "like faith" and Asian evangelicals. Through integration and cooperation, the OMF hoped to inspire a missionary vision within the churches and among Christian youth in Asia. A church-centric approach meant that the OMF would devote more

[542] J. Oswald Sanders, "Report from the Overseas Council," *East Asia Millions*, February 1962.

resources to the priority of discipleship training by developing training programs for national workers as evangelists.[543]

To do so required institutional expansion. In moving forward the OMF would cautiously go about constructing bible schools in various areas and accepting responsibility for the staff, premises, and employment of any "nationals" working for the institutions. In addition, the OMF revisited the idea of church unions or associations to promote expansion and training.[544]

As a result, the church-centric approach to missions and emphasis on integration revealed growing recognition of the authority of Asian churches and their right to lead the region's evangelization. OMF representatives spoke of "Helping Asians in the Missionary Task," and promised U.S. evangelicals that Asian missionaries in the field, "may well prove to be the Judsons and Careys and Hudson Taylors of the future."[545] Critical to the OMF's relations with the U.S. then after 1963 was the promotion of the image of Asian "pioneers" as a popular symbol of the society's new vision. OMF features highlighting the society's efforts at discipleship training such as "Training Nationals" imparted the sense that the missionary's primary role now was the mobilization of Asian evangelicals.[546]

Gradual steps were taken toward racial integration on the home front the following year. In 1963 the OMF finally adopted a resolution to admit Asian Christians that were citizens of countries like the U.S. as members. Fears about interracial marriage

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[543] J. Oswald Sanders, "Report from the Overseas Council," *East Asia Millions*, February 1962.
[544] J. Oswald Sanders, "Report from the Overseas Council," *East Asia Millions*, February 1962.
[545] "Helping Asians in the Missionary Task," *East Asia Millions,* February 1963.; "god Calls Asians to Himself," *East Asia Millions,* February 1963.; David Ellis, "God Calls Asians to Asians," *East Asia Millions,* February 1963.;
[546] "Training Nationals," *East Asia Millions*, June 1962.

were resolved by limiting applicants to "acceptably married" couples. A further qualification of membership for Asian applicants was that they were "born citizens in our homelands, who are reared therein."[547] However, Asian-Americans that were single or born overseas were still excluded from membership. The latter because they were considered the "right" of the churches in their home country, and the former to prevent the possibility of an interracial marriage among the OMF's members.

Glasser toured the U.S. South following the decision and found a mixed reaction among many evangelicals to the idea of full integration with "non-Caucasians." He found churches in Alabama and Georgia had been for the most part positive and approving of the decision, but in Mississippi the society's supporters were almost universally against the policy if it meant that the "Negro" would soon be among the OMF missionaries. While personally professing to despise racial discrimination, Glasser's perspective on integration was also influenced by the interventions of the Kennedy Administration on behalf of African Americans in the South to fight segregation. The subsequent anger of Southerners riled by the presence of, in Glasser's words, "northern extremists" showed that rapid integration was "unwise." In light of these events he found the OMF's first modest step, opening the society to "acceptably married" Asian Christians, prudent by comparison.[548]

Despite's Glasser's approval of the "prudence" of gradual integration in countries like the U.S., the matter soon turned to the continued exclusion of Asian Christians in the New Fields. By November of 1964, the Overseas Council announced a plan to transform the OMF into a "new type of instrument" by pursuing integration with Christians in Asia.

[547] "Non-Caucasian Membership," *East Asia Millions*, August-September 1963.;
[548] Letter from Arthur Glasser to J. Oswald Sanders, April 23, 1963.

Motivated by the various dilemmas facing the missionary movement and the "tide of missionary concern beginning to surge throughout the churches of East Asia," OMF senior leadership had resolved, "Why not cease to be a western mission to the East and become a fellowship of men and women of like faith from East to West for any and every land throughout East Asia?" In allowing Asian Christians to join the society's ranks, the OMF promised, "the New OMF is neither Western nor Asian." That Asian applicants, from the New Fields or home countries, were also not limited to married couples proved it was no longer acceptable for the OMF to officially prohibit interracial marriages, even if it continued to discourage such relationships as "unwise."[549]

Another step in the direction of opening the OMF to Asian Christians was completed when in 1965 the North American Council added its first two Chinese members, Rev. Theodore Choy and Rev. Moses Chow. Both men had been born in China before moving to the U.S. and were founders of Ambassadors For Christ, Inc., an ally of the U.S. Home Staff. As representatives of the Chinese Christian community inside and outside the U.S., Choy and Chow reassured OMF supporters that these changes would enhance the influence of the society in the New Fields. Choy stated that the "no admittance sign on doors to Asians" had been an "embarrassment" and the new policies would "ease tensions, real or imagined" between westerners and Asians. Chow admitted that while undoubtedly the society would struggle with "harmonizing" westerners and Asians into a single organization, he declared the decisions a means for the OMF to overcome nationalist sentiments in Asia, "In a period when nationalism is so strong, to

[549] The New Instrument," *East Asia Millions,* December 1964.

move in the free air above it in practice as well as in theory is labeled radical."[550] As representatives of the Asian evangelicals, Choy and Chow reassured OMF supporters that integration would "free" the missionary from the accusations of racism impeding their progress.

Concerns about the effect of the decision on the OMF surfaced from U.S. evangelicals almost immediately. Inquiries about the decision asked whether or not such a move to transform the mission was "too late" to have any effect on perceptions of the society and missionary in the New Fields. Others questioned whether or not employing Asian missionaries would stifle the "emerging, infant Asian missions" and churches. Many were concerned with the society's revised stance on the "interracial problem."[551] Some evangelicals held to the mission's previous statements that interracial relationships were bound to cause controversy and lead to problems, while others were confused as to why single Asian candidates had ever previously been denied since scripture did not justify such a position.[552] While OMF writers proclaimed their confidence in the decision, missionaries such as Alfred Broomhall's framed these changes as unavoidable, stating flatly that the society "had to break bounds or perish." In essence, the OMF declared it had no choice but to embrace racial equality to the fullest, or else risk becoming irrelevant as a missionary force.

To achieve integration in the Asia Pacific, the OMF established advisory councils. Similar in purpose and scope to the home councils and staffs in countries like the U.S., by the spring of 1967 councils were in place in Japan, Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, and Hong Kong. Plans were in motion to form one next in Taiwan. These areas were chosen

[550] Moses Chow, "New Council Members Commence New OMF," *East Asia Millions,* March 1965
[551] Arnold J. Lea, "Speaking Frankly," *East Asia Millions*, February 1965.
[552] Aflred Broomhall, "New Recruits," *East Asia Millions,* August-September 1966.

because they represented the "leading lights" of Asia and areas where the society invested its greatest hopes to generate a surge in Asian missionary outreach. Soon the advisory councils were establishing prayer "cells," the equivalent of the circles in the U.S., and engaging in deputation work, still believed by the OMF to be the "backbone of any promotional outreach," to Asian churches and Christian societies. To aid the advisory councils, the OMF began distributing prayer calendars and other devotional materials for the society's supporters in these countries.[553]

Thus, the OMF set about expanding its institutional networks in the New Fields and changing the structure of its relationship with many of these countries to be similar to that of the other home countries in the west. In turn, institutional expansion improved the society's ability to advance the missionary vision and ethos of evangelism amongst Asian churches and Christians. Via the advisory councils, the OMF deployed promotional methods popular and traditional in western countries. For instance, in Singapore the OMF sent representatives to the city's first missionary exhibition attended by groups like the Sudan Interior Mission and Far East Broadcasting Company.[554] Such conventions had become a popular tool for propagating missionary work in the nineteenth century in Great Britain and the U.S. With displays and entertainment featuring the peoples and customs of Asia, the missionary exhibition was a key instrument for filling the imperialist imaginary of Protestant Christians. [555] That such mediums were intended to recruit Asian missionaries suggests the OMF's growing desire to integrate these groups into its vision of expansionist global Christianity.

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[553] Denis Lane, "A Notable First!" *East Asia Millions,* March 1967; Guy Longley, "The Third Stage Playing the 'New Instrument,'" *East Asia Millions*, May 1967.;
[554] Denis Lane, "A Notable First!" *East Asia Millions,* March 1967.
[555] Eric Reinders, *Borrowed Gods, Foreign Bodies,* pgs. 1-22.

Transforming the OMF into a truly international force, however, required the mission focus on recruiting allies and interested collaborators to join the ranks of the mission. The composition of the councils mixed western personnel and local Asian representatives, with the intention that each council would form a "wholly national council" with a Home Director appointed from each country. To cultivate Asian members, representatives of the Home Councils such as Howard Knight, the Home Director for the Australian Council, toured Asia meeting with Christian clergy, theologians, and evangelists. Also, circulating the New Fields were a series of pamphlets such as "What is the OMF?" and "Faith in Finance," and copies of *East Asia's Millions* in a variety of languages sent to thousands of churches, seminaries, and Christian organizations. In addition, OMF agents toured the New Fields showing two of the societies recent films, *One Thousand Tongues* and *Millions of Messengers*, to English and Chinese-speaking audiences.[556]

Racial integration and a church-centric approach heightened the value of literature, too. Its efficacy in advancing evangelism increased in the eyes of evangelicals and OMF missionaries in the 1960s. Indeed, by 1963 the OMF boasted that "All Asia is Reading," and the idea of reaching the educated masses tantalized the international evangelical community.[557]Proponents advocated that as literacy rates rose in Asia the gospel tract or pamphlet replaced the missionary as the first point of contact between the "unevangelized" and the Gospel.[558]

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[556] Denis Lane, "A Notable First!" *East Asia Millions,* March 1967; Guy Longley, "The Third Stage Playing the 'New Instrument,'" *East Asia Millions*, May 1967.;
[557] "All Asia is Reading," *East Asia Millions*, October 1963.
[558] Howard Hotton, "When Asians Write Asians Listen," *East Asia Millions,* October 1963.

The society's means of distribution and marketing varied in each country, but were increasingly sophisticated and business-like. In Japan and the Philippines the OMF developed "strategic placed" chains of Christian bookstores in major cities such as Manila and Tokyo and a few smaller cities, and used vans as "mobile bookstores" to conduct evangelistic "raids" on towns and rural areas. In Malaysia, the OMF distributed literature through an Evangelical Book Center in Kuala Lumpur and missionaries held book fairs on major universities and campuses. But in Laos, lower literacy levels among the general population and political stability discouraged the bookstore model, and like in Thailand OMF agents favored personally taking tracts with them door to door.[559] OMF missionaries also maximized their time on trains, buses, steamers, and visits to markets by carrying tracts in a variety of languages with them, becoming their own colporteurs in contrast with the practices of the mission's past in China.

Literature, too, was reconfigured to advance discipleship training, and beginning in the early 1960s the OMF's literature program focused on the "nationalization" of literature. To encourage the "nationalization" of literature in various countries the OMF launched programs to train Asians in writing evangelistic pamphlets, tracts, posters, and other literature. By the late 1960s the OMF had also developed programs designed to promote "Christian journalism" among Asians.[560] In order to advance the three-selfs of the Asian Christian's right to self-governance, self-support, and self-propagation, the Christian Witness Press abandoned the "primitive idea of free or mostly free," publications so that indigenous churches could adopt the program's organizational model as a revenue maker, not another financial burden for churches to carry. Additionally, the

[559]Ron Roberts, "Six Thousand Miles in Eight Minutes," *East Asia Millions,* October 1965
[560] "Using Christian Ink," *East Asia Millions*, November 1968.

OMF initiated training programs for Asian Christians on how to manage bookstores, printing presses, and distribution networks.

In terms of staffing, integration was most successful within the field of literature. While the OMF only sent a handful of Asian missionaries to the field in the 1960s, already by 1962 over half of the CWP's staff in Hong Kong was comprised of Christians from Asia. Also, the society began incorporating local Christians in Tokyo, Jakarta, Manila, and Hong Kong into the OMF operations, and gradually transferred responsibility over various tasks to these groups.[561]

Besides "strengthening" the Asian churches of the New Fields, the nationalization of literature reflected beliefs that publications crafted by Asian Christians would be more favorably received than tracts written by western missionaries. Literature became another marker indicative of the "maturity" and sincerity of faith of Asian Christians. However, the OMF suggested that the development of literature for Asian evangelicals suffered from a paucity of qualified and talented Asian Christian writers.

Justifications for integration stressed the vitality Asian membership would bring to the missionary movement. As a "new instrument" the OMF claimed this transformation would allow for the "speediest possible evangelization of East Asia," by making the OMF into a "catalyst" combining "the growing vigor within the churches of East Asia and the untapped missionary potential of the churches in the West." The OMF championed a vision of Asian and western Christian cooperation and complete integration as essential to Christianity's progress. For example in December 1965 the society rejoiced in the visualization of "Occident and Orient, arm in arm, united in Christ

[561] Bryce H. Gray, "We Sell Literature," *East Asia Millions,* October 1962.

in the all-absorbing task of evangelizing, discipling, and gathering into congregations the redeemed of East Asia."[562]

Faced with these dilemmas and difficult circumstances dogging the evangelical missionary, the OMF hoped that through unifying with Asian Christians the society could leave behind its "western" identity and regain the vitality and dynamism the society feared the missionary movement had lost. In promoting the society's restructuring, the OMF offered the "rocketship" as the symbol of this era in Protestant missions. In a series of articles in the pages of *East Asia Millions* in May 1967, OMF members described the missionary force as a "three-stage" rocket, wherein the missionary movement evolved in stages from that of the white pioneer to the national, indigenous church before finally transforming into an international body of Christians working together to spread the gospel.[563] As a symbol, the rocket spoke to the OMF's desire to convey that through unifying with Asian Christians and churches, the missionary movement would regain its lost dynamism and escape its association with imperialism and racial discrimination.

In cooperating with churches and taking roles in administration that looked like that of Donald Cook's in Japan, however, the OMF fought against the sense that the western missionary would sacrifice his or her sense of adventurism, independence, and freedom. Several OMF missionaries such as Raymond and Helen Nowack Frame, working among urban populations in Manila, acknowledged that at their posts they were "living very ordinary lives" enjoying all the creature comforts of modern cities back

[562] "1955-1965," *East Asia Millions*, December 1965.
[563] Leona Choy, "Missions: A Three Stage Rocket," *East Asia Millions,* May 1967.; Arthur Matthews, "The Missionary Dilemma of the Second Stage," *East Asia Millions,* May 1967.; Guy Longley, "The Third Stage Playing the 'New Instrument,'" *East Asia Millions*, May 1967.;

home. They too at times missed the "excitement" of their days as pioneers.[564] Inside the U.S. the OMF Home Council struggled to promote these new roles as many American evangelicals still longed to serve as pioneers. But OMF agents like Arthur Matthews chided that in such an age it was "selfish to look for a field without national leaders" so that the missionary could work "according to his own ideas and without interference." Instead, the missionary should long to serve with existing churches, directing their outreach toward the "unreached," and thereby reap greater "harvests" and wield more extensive influence.[565] Ideas from the 1940s about trading in the pioneer's independence and freedom to roam for greater social mobility and access to elites were revived.

Via mobilizing and training Asian Christians for evangelism, the OMF gave U.S. evangelicals and its supporters a sense that nationalism in Asia could be harnessed to favor evangelism. For example, in the *Missionary of Tomorrow* the OMF claimed…

> Evangelism ought to be the passion of every Christian whether in the church at home or out in South East Asia and Japan. The missionary of today has the unique privilege and opportunity of helping to channel the nationalistic enthusiasm of the young people of South East Asia into the right channels; that of extending the kingdom of Christ.[566]

In sum, the OMF hoped that by recognizing the sovereignty of the churches and embracing racial equality, nationalistic energies could be redirected to advance Christianity.

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[564] Helen Nowack Frame, "The Bible Institute of the Philippines," *East Asia Millions*, June 1962.
[565] Arthur Matthews, "The Missionary Dilemma of the Second Stage," *East Asia Millions,* May 1967.;
[566] "Missionary of Tomorrow," Compiled by Arnold J. Lea, (1962), Records of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Section 3, Folder 9-7, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

As a result, discipleship training and student evangelism returned to greater prominence within the OMF. While elevating the status of the Asian churches and evangelicals in the eyes of U.S. evangelicals, the OMF's rebalancing and reform emphasized the western missionary's role in mobilizing Asian Christians. The OMF advertised that through integration with Asian churches they sought to use "the mobilization of the Church for the evangelization of the world in this generation."[567] Alongside this announcement in *East Asia's Millions* were features on Asian missionaries already working for the OMF such as "In Singapore a Chinese Reaching Chinese" and "Indonesians Writing for Indonesians."[568]

This was particularly true of students. In the 1960s OMF missionaries pointed to several indicators that the region was on the cusp of a great surge in evangelism led by Asian Christians. Features in *East Asia's Millions* advertised, "Asia is crammed with students."[569] In this respect, familiar voices like those of Paul Contento and David Adeney emphasized a greater devotion to discipleship training and student evangelism as keys to the future for missions in the region. Contento claimed that Singapore possessed the "finest and strongest national Christian leadership in all Asia," and student evangelism had begun benefiting from the Asian students' increasing willingness to serve as missionaries for the rest of Southeast Asia. He warned, however, that just as in China, the evangelical movement's lack of witness to students on campuses like Nanyang

[567] "The Wheaton Declaration," *Eat Asia Millions,* June 1966;
[568] "In Singapore a Chinese Reaching Chinese," *East Asia Millions*, December 1964; "Indonesians Writing for Indonesians," *East Asia Millions*, December 1964.
[569] "Using Christian Ink," *East Asia Millions*, November 1968.

University risked allowing these places to become hot-beds of liberal-modernism and communism.[570]

Adeney reinforced Contento's claim that Christians in Asia were progressively becoming missionary-minded, but he also suggested the need to win the loyalty of youth. This generation was particularly important, too, since he asserted that students were the "most sensitive" to the revolutionary ferment of the times and would lead their societies in the future. Partnered with the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students, Adeney promised that student evangelism from the start turned youth into "the missionaries on campus" and they were "already playing a role in political developments."[571] Rerouting the missionary toward the college campus and classroom, Adeney and Contento believed that student evangelism offered the opportunity to capture the future of nations in Asia.

In disseminating these images, the OMF also increasingly focused on Asia's modernity. U.S. evangelicals were inundated with reports on the region's increasing technological sophistication, industrialization, and modernity. OMF missionaries even railed against depictions of the New Fields as "ancient" in airline advertisements, writing "pagodas, lumbering oxcarts, and broad-brimmed junks with patchwork sails are merely incidentals in East Asia today. From Japan to Indonesia is booming." While such imagery and references had not entirely disappeared from OMF publications and media, when speaking of the society's Asian allies and members, the society made sure to highlight their modern and increasingly mobile traits.[572]

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[570] Paul Contento, "Too Much Emphasis," *East Asia Millions*, December 1961.
[571] David Adeney, "Kindling the Fire," *East Asia Millions*, December 1961.
[572] "Using Christian Ink," *East Asia Millions*, November 1968.

As a result, the importance of certain nations and groups in the New Fields grew based upon their perceived potential for leading the region's evangelization. For example, in April 1966 *East Asia Millions* featured an article entitled "The Philippines: Key to Asia," proclaimed "the strategic position of the Philippines has not changed in four hundred years. Today it stands as a springboard into Asia for the Catholic, Protestant, and Politician."[573] Such sentiments mirrored the outlook of U.S. imperialists following the Spanish-American War in seeing the Philippines as a key strategic foothold for the penetration of Asia. [574]

But it was not just geography that made the Philippines valuable in the eyes of the OMF. Among the conditions OMF missionaries listed as benefitting the evangelical missionary's evangelism as that the Philippines was called the "oldest and most stable democracy" in the region, with "complete religious freedom" for missionary and Filipino Christians alike. Additional factors favoring the Philippines as a "springboard" for the evangelization of Asia was that, according to the OMF, Manila was home to the largest student population in all of Asia and a Christian community of over 3 million, and a number of fine bible schools nationwide.[575] The OMF looked to societies that were seen as "stable" and "modern," in the sense that they were increasingly urban and developed, with relatively large Christian and student populations, as ripe with potential for building an evangelical Asian missionary force. The "openness" of these societies to Protestant missions and the West in general was an important condition as well.

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[573] "The Philippines: Key to Asia," *East Asia Millions*, April 1966.
[574] Michael Hunt, "1898: The Onset of America's Troubled Asian Century," OAH Magazine of History 12 (Spring 1998):30-36 (part of a special issue devoted to the anniversary of the Spanish-American War edited by Louis A. Pérez, Jr.);
[575] "The Philippines: Key to Asia," *East Asia Millions*, April 1966.

Ultimately, integration and the church-centric approach in the 1960s was directed according to a hierarchy of groups seen as exhibiting great potential to lead Asia's evangelism. The OMF referred to nations like the Philippines, Japan, Singapore, and Malaysia as the "leading lights" of Asia, and cited their large urban centers and growing student populations as proof of their "untapped potential" for sending missionaries and evangelists. Another factor favoring the OMF's investment in these nations as allies was that each was seemingly more "open" to the west. To a lesser extent, Taiwan was included on this list since it possessed many of the same criteria the OMF valued, but the society saw many of the established churches as dominated by liberal-modernism. Thus, the missionary's mobility marked various Asian classes, demographic groups, and nationalities into distinct categories: those who were rising equals and sought after allies and those that were still largely associated with "darkness" or "heathenism."

Overseas Chinese scattered across the Asia Pacific and the Atlantic were perhaps the most important group singled out by the OMF as key to the region's future evangelization. In many of the New Fields, the OMF identified overseas Chinese as having great wealth and societal influence that could potentially be leveraged to advance Christianity. For instance, the OMF referred to Chinese groups in the Philippines as having "influence" that was "vastly out of proportion to its numerical strength," along with great wealth and intelligence.[576] Even in countries like Indonesia where the government treated the minority Chinese population with suspicion and occasionally violence and harassment in the 1950s and 1960s, the OMF saw great opportunities for evangelism. The OMF especially valued the transnational networks of culture and

[576] "Missionary of Tomorrow," Compiled by Arnold J. Lea, (1962), Records of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Section 3, Folder 9-7, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.

commerce maintained by overseas Chinese in Indonesia across the country and connecting them to the rest of the diaspora as critical channels for the gospel to someday travel.[577]

Beyond prayer, the OMF engaged in various types of outreach in the U.S. to encourage the missionary impulse among Asian groups. The OMF also lobbied U.S. evangelicals to evangelize as "colporteurs" in America, too. Advertisements for *Dengta* cajoled that readers "probably know of a Chinese student, professional man or woman, a neighbor or a laundryman" to whom they could gift a copy of the magazine or a year's subscription for $1.50.[578] By the mid-1960s, U.S. Home Staff frequently worked with organizations such as Ambassadors for Christ, Inc. to sponsor retreats and conferences for Chinese and Chinese-American students in the U.S. and Canada to encourage Christian service and recruit missionary candidates. At other times OMF representatives allied with the ICVF to hold rallies in Chicago among Chinese Christians, foreign born and citizens, to raise donations and prayer support for Christian youth organizations in Saigon, one of a select few cities in Asia where OMF missionaries like the Contentos concentrated on fomenting a student evangelical movement.[579] In doing so, deputation speakers and OMF writers promoted the idea that overseas Chinese Christians had an obligation to their national and racial brethren living in the PRC to use their greater religious freedom and rights in the west as evangelists and missionaries.

In many ways the lines between the roles and tasks of the OMF missionaries in the Asia Pacific and that of the society's representatives in Atlantic World were

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[577] Norman Baker, "The Chinese Dispersion," *The Millions*, April 1954.
[578] "Evangelize with Dengta," *East Asia Millions,* July 1961.
[579] "Saigon….Chicago," *East Asia Millions,* December 1966.; "News and Views," *East Asia Millions,* November 1966

increasingly blurred in the 1960s. In both arenas, the OMF hoped its agents would inspire Asian Christians to feel the missionary call. And in reaching out to Asians to join the OMF and take up the missionary call, the society and its supporters invested their hopes that via equality, racial integration, and cooperation the missionary movement would regain its momentum.

White Elephants

As the OMF pursued integration, the society simultaneously fought against the notion that the white western missionary no longer had a role to play in the Asia Pacific region. Against the backdrop of the global political and social revolutions taking place in the 1950s and 1960s, whether or not the "age of the missionary" had passed was a question posed in ever-greater frequency in both secular and Christian circles. More and more U.S. evangelicals feared that in going abroad, the white western missionary did more harm than good to both the cause of Christianity and relations between East and West.

Part of the controversy surrounding Protestant missions stemmed from critics labeling the missionary a conduit for exploitation. Inside the U.S., an increasing number of voices, religious and secular, insisted that at its core the Protestant missionary endeavor was inherently imperialistic and racist. Within the U.S. academic community by the late 1960s, the missionary was fast becoming the dominant symbol of American imperialism. In his address to the American Historical Society in 1969 John King Fairbank, America's foremost historian on China, pointed to the missionary as "the invisible man in American history," and called on his colleagues to explore how the missionary had shaped the misguided foreign policy of the U.S. in East Asia that led to

the quagmire in Vietnam.[580] Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. later wrote of the missionary as the vanguard of U.S. cultural imperialism by building on the works of Frantz Fannon and Albert Memmi.[581] Indeed, by the late 1970s and 1980s the missionary's significant role in cultural imperialism was a dominant paradigm in the disciplines of history and anthropology.

Meanwhile popular Christian authors warned Protestants that the missionary movement was alienating the non-western world from the West. Ralph E. Dodge's *The Unpopular Missionary* and James A. Scherer's *Missionary, Go Home* argued that the missionary movement's past was defined by the perpetuation of colonialism and racism.[582] These accusations gave greater credibility to voices suggesting that the full rights and sovereignty of the national churches in Asia meant that only "nationals" or racial brethren should propagate the faith. This notion also benefitted from Protestant spokesman proclaiming the "strength" and "maturity" of the national churches of various Asian countries and their enthusiasm for evangelism.

Outside of this argument based on rights, there were many Christians who believed it simply more practical to leave the brunt of the region's evangelism to Asian missionaries and evangelists, the assumption was for many U.S. evangelicals that the Asian missionary's race and national identity were less likely to inflame and agitate other Asians than a white, western missionary. Or, based upon their "innate" understanding of

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[580] John King Fairbank, "Assignment for the '70s," *American Historical Review,* Vol. 74, No. 3 (Feb., 1969): 877-879.

[581] Arthur Schlesinger, "The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism," from John King Fairbank, eds. *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974): 367-370.

[582] However, unlike many academics and intellectuals neither author argued such issues were inherent to the nature of Protestant missions, and rather both affirmed the potential for these flawed mentalities and practices to be purged from the ranks of the missionary movement. James A. Scherer's *Missionary, Go Home* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1964); Ralph E. Dodge's *The Unpopular Missionary* (Westwood, NJ: F.H. Revell, 1964).

culture, language, or the mentality of their brethren, they were more effective than the white, western missionary. By the mid-1960s several organizations such as Ambassadors for Christ, Inc. comprised primarily of Asian Christians had been formed in the U.S. Leading some Protestants to argue that because of racial tensions and anti-imperialist politics, Asian missionaries were better suited for the challenges of the field than the white western missionary.

Elements within Protestant Christianity responded to these issued by contemplating alternatives to the traditional structure of missions. Within the liberal-modernist circles of Protestantism, the World Council of Churches (WCC) and proponents of the ecumenical movement explored and debated spiritual relations between societies without the missionary at the center of exchange. Another alternative preferred by some was for Protestant missions to focus on the large foreign student population from Asian and African countries in the U.S. Proponents of this concept of missions pointed to the more favorable political conditions and rights favoring open evangelism and witness for the missionary.[583]

Other supporters of Protestant missions proposed that only missionaries possessing special training or professional skills should be sent abroad. Three critical factors favored a trend within the world of Protestant missions toward sending "specialists." The first was that many critics accused Protestant missions of sending individuals with "mediocre" skills and intellectual abilities to the foreign field, which many assumed was a hindrance to foreign relations and the image of the missionary abroad. A second factor was that some nations such as Indonesia denied entrance to

[583] "Has the Day of Missions Passed," *East Asia Millions*, April 1964.

missionaries without advanced education and the professional skills that were desired for development or state-building.[584]

The other factor was that during the Cold War the skill set of the typical Protestant missionary was becoming increasingly sophisticated and complex. Almost all missionary societies introduced requirements for training in cultural sensitivity, advanced linguistic study, and ideological combat with communism. In addition, missionaries with advanced degrees and backgrounds in specialized areas such as communications, anthropology, medicine, and a number of other areas were increasingly the standard that many societies strove for in their candidates. The increasing rigors of the missionary's training and skill set spoke to both a desire to be more effective as an agent of Christianity, but also the belief that through the right education and training one could transcend racist or imperialist attitudes.

The sum of these debates and trends within the missionary movement led the OMF to believe it was embroiled in a fight to keep alive the missionary impulse among white U.S. evangelicals in the late 1960s. For example, in the late summer of 1968 the OMF compared the controversy surrounding the missionary to the American War in Vietnam in an editorial titled "You're Not Burning a Draft Card—Are You?" The article described the waning of the missionary impulse among U.S. evangelicals as the result of a two-front war against Protestant missions that paralleled the U.S. military's conflict with the Vietcong and with politicians and dissenters among American youth. Both the OMF and American military forces were facing "an undermined home front and a limited war overseas." The author equated the reluctance of evangelical youth to commit to

[584] J. Morris Rockness, "Missionary Qualifications," *East Asia Millions*, January 1962.

missionary service overseas with committing the spiritual equivalent of dodging the draft and burning registration cards, leaving the fighting along the front lines in the spiritual war in the New Fields to Asian Christians.[585]

Indeed, in the 1960s U.S. Home Staff workers and missionaries on furlough were asked to provide commentary on the Vietnam War. Especially among youth and college students, deputation speakers found their audiences wanted to know whether or not the OMF favored the U.S. military intervention. In one such instance at Wellesley College in Boston, Glasser tried to explain to students that because of his experiences in China he knew "what communists are like" and favored containment. But he also recognized that by and large he was forced onto the defensive to justify both the U.S and missionary's role abroad with the evidence growing that their presence was not desired by many Asians.[586]

In another article, the OMF fought against the idea of the white missionary as more of a burden to Christianity's expanse in Pacific Asia than a catalyst behind its advance. The January 1968 edition of *East Asia's Millions* featured an illustration of a white, evangelical college student reading a copy of James A. Scherer's *Missionary, Go Home* in his dorm room in Urbana, Illinois, captioned "Me? A White Elephant?" next to an article by Michael Griffiths entitled "Foreign Missionary This Century's White Elephants."[587] Increasingly, the OMF was combating ideas that due to the Cold War and decolonization, missionaries should be limited to evangelizing within their own national borders or amongst their own racial and national brethren. At the very least, critics felt

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[585]"You're Not Burning a Draft Card—Are You?" *East Asia Millions,* August/September 1968.
[586] Interview of Arthur Glasser by Bob Schuster, April 17, 1995. Collection 421, T5 from
[587]Michael C. Griffiths, "Foreign Missionary This Century's White Elephants," *East Asia Millions*, January 1968.

the white western missionary going abroad should possess an exceptional academic and professional background and not merely be profoundly devout and pious in faith.

Against these notions the OMF upheld the ideology of a missionary mobility unbounded by national borders or race, and insisted upon the rights of Christians to evangelize as a human right. Integration by ending the exclusion of Asian evangelicals from the missionary movement delinked ideas about freedom of expression and freedom embedded within missionary mobility from its association with whiteness. Spokesman for the OMF now championed these as the rights of all individuals, regardless of race or nationality. For example, Griffiths insisted "the church of Christ is people of different background, education, and nationality manifesting the harmony of Christ in a divided world."[588] Embedded within the OMF's position then was the idea that the act of going abroad proved Christianity's universality and openness to all races and nations. Further, implicit in this ideology of mobility was the OMF's hope that in crossing borders, issues of race and nationality could be transcended. Conversely, the OMF also insisted that white evangelicals still retained the right to evangelize throughout the world as a human right that trumped the national and local sovereignty of Asians.

Part of the contest fought by the OMF concerning these issues was the call for more rigorous standards among missionary candidates. The movement toward recruiting missionaries with "special" qualifications was noticeable within the OMF as well in the 1950s and 1960s. In addition to education at seminaries or bible institutes, and experience as an evangelist or pastor, the OMF sought candidates with degrees or studies in fields such as journalism, sociology, and anthropology. Missionaries on furlough were expected

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[588] Michael C. Griffiths, "Foreign Missionary This Century's White Elephants," *East Asia Millions*, January 1968.

to take college courses or pursue advanced degrees in areas such as religious studies. Candidates familiar with communist theory and the works Karl Marx, Vladmir Lenin, Mao Zedong, and Christian refutations of their writings were valued as well.

Consequently, OMF members were also advised to adopt a scholarly and academic approach to their work. For example, members interested in taking courses in linguistics were advised before returning home, "bring as much live data as possible from the field in the form of tape recordings, records, word lists, and rough drafts of translations" and then seek out the "secular linguists of our secular universities who are hungry for such data" for help.[589] The logistical issues of missionary work in the New Fields required candidates with business experience and administrative duties like the aforementioned Donald Cook. This partly reflected the new media of work in print and media that required technological expertise and business savvy.

In part, the OMF's rising standards for missionary candidates acknowledged a waning belief in the white western missionary's innate racial and cultural superiority to Asians. In 1962, J. Morris Rockness, the Associate Home Director for the U.S, wrote that in the past most believed "a homeland ministry preparation should be much more thorough than for service abroad." This was because, "It was assumed that the peoples of the mission fields were less civilized, less sophisticated and therefore could be won to Christianity by those of lesser qualifications," but in light of the political and social transformations around the world such ideas were no longer credible.[590] As a result, he demanded that the "missionary of today be a skilled workman," with training in medicine, theology, linguistics, journalism, and even electronics. In addition, increasing

[589] China Inland Mission, *Furlough Manual for Use in North America,* (Revised 1956)
[590] J. Morris Rockness, "Missionary Qualifications," *East Asia Millions*, January 1962.

opportunities for working with existing Christian institutions such as Christian seminaries, hospitals, and universities necessitated that the OMF find missionaries with advanced degrees and professional backgrounds.[591]

But the society also insisted on the primacy of spiritual qualifications, and that missionaries without special skills or training could be among the most effective and powerful agents. "Spiritual maturity" and "temperament" were of the utmost importance, and Rockness argued that while the OMF increasingly sought candidates with some college education "many of our most effective missionaries are unlettered. But they are Spirit taught and are men and women of spiritual sagacity and of true intellectual sagacity."[592] Thus, the OMF held that spirituality, not intellectual qualifications or professional experience, still defined the most effective missionaries, and by extension their ability to transcend issues of race and nationality.

Another qualification to the OMF's trend toward setting higher standards for missionaries was that for the most part the work of the missionary "specialist" was associated with specific groups in Asia, such as students. For example, Paul Contento stated that since the society's beginnings in student evangelism in China the OMF had recognized "work with students naturally required new methods of approach, new techniques, and above all new mental adjustment, for now the missionary was dealing with people of mental stature equal to himself—perhaps sometimes his intellectual superior." Lea had expressed similar ideas in his prediction about the "Missionary of Tomorrow." In explaining the need to work with the Asian missionary, Lea reflected that

[591]J. Morris Rockness, "Missionary Qualifications," *East Asia Millions*, January 1962.
[592] J. Morris Rockness, "Missionary Qualifications," *East Asia Millions*, January 1962.

"the crown is on the other head today and many a brilliant honors-student of some eastern country talks of things which many a western missionary knows little or nothing."[593]

However, such qualifications had not been necessary, according to Contento, for the missionary when dealing with "illiterate villagers," common to the society's work in pioneering or church planting in rural areas. [594] Thus, the OMF did not see it necessary to have such credentials to engage in other forms of missionary service such as church planting or pioneer evangelism. While the OMF no longer thought the average missionary inherently superior to elite Asians, they were perhaps still sufficiently prepared to reach the various groups still identified as "primitive" or "heathens" by the society.

The society also resisted the impression that academic training and learning were more important to cultural understanding and equality than direct contact and experience with Asians. The Overseas Manual advised missionaries to "avoid a critical spirit, impatience or cynicism," and instead cultivate a "sympathetic understanding" by adopting many of the customs of locals as well as their lifestyles. The other key ingredient was spending much of their time conversing and engaging with "the people." In doing these things, the missionary would "soon appreciate that the oriental mind has a different background than his own," and "learn to see things from the oriental point of view."[595] Even as training materials and practices became more academic and sophisticated, the society still insisted that personal contact revealed fundamental truths about "Orientals" that could not be learned except through contact and fellowship. In

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[593] "Missionary of Tomorrow," Compiled by Arnold J. Lea, (1962), Records of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, Section 3, Folder 9-7, from Billy Graham Evangelical Archives, Wheaton, Illinois.
[594] Paul Contento, "Too Much Emphasis," *East Asia Millions*, December 1961.
[595] *The Overseas Manual of the China Inland Mission Overseas Missionary Fellowship*, (1955)

essence, "true" cultural understanding and fellowship required human interaction. Experience, not intellectual ability or training, mattered most.

And while technological media like the radio and television were increasingly important, the OMF still maintained that the most powerful medium for Christianity's expansion and relations with foreign societies was the missionary's person. In 1963 the society allied with over forty different mission societies for a conference of the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association in Winona Lake, Indiana, to testify that, "modern missionary methods can support but never supplant the missionary himself." The conference concluded that while academic training and technical skills were important, the greatest needs were spiritual training and ministry.[596] Again, in 1966, the OMF allied with hundreds of other evangelical agencies gathered at Wheaton College to draft a declaration that extolled the virtues of specialized ministry and technological media like the radio or television in advancing evangelism, but insisted that Christian missions should resist "over-dependence" on mass media at the expense of personal witness. Further, the document reaffirmed that the "primary method" for evangelism and "strengthening" existing churches remained the "ministry of spirit-gifted and empowered men and women preaching and teaching the Word of God."[597] Against the voices suggesting the substitution of technological media for that of the person of the missionary, the OMF joined forces with many other evangelical agencies to insist upon human contact as the critical core of the Protestant missionary endeavor.

In essence, in the late 1960s, the OMF defended the ability of the white western missionary, specialist and non-specialist alike, to go abroad and evangelize as a universal

[596] "Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association," *East Asia Millions,* August/September 1963.
[597] "The Wheaton Declaration," *Eat Asia Millions,* June 1966.

human right and symbol of international equality and fellowship. In doing so, the society resisted the increasingly elitist perspective that only individuals with advanced academic degrees and highly specialized skills were fit to engage foreign cultures, or that only such qualifications made it possible to engage Asians without perpetuating racism or imperialism. Embodying these ideas, the OMF rallied evangelicals to reassert that person-to-person contact remained the most dynamic force driving Christianity's global expansion.

In defending these ideas, the society's publications featured the voices of Asian Christians as rebuttals to the critics of the white western missionary. For instance, *The Millions* featured the reply of Bishop Rajah Manikam of the Tamil Evangelical Lutheran Church in South India to the question of the passing of the missionary era. According to Manikam,

> The important question is not whether or missionaries are required in the East today. The day is practically gone for the missionary of a previous generation or two who was a superintendent, a director, or a boss. The day has now dawned for the missionary who is the *friend, philosopher,* and *guide* of a young church, who is willing to get behind the cart and push it along rather than pull it from the front.[598]

In Manikam, the OMF found an ally proclaiming that what mattered most was the spiritual qualifications of the missionary and their intent and attitude.

As evidence of Asian desire for the white missionary as a partner, the society marshaled invitations from Asian evangelical colleges, seminaries, churches, and clergy

[598] J. Morris Rockness, "Missionary Qualifications," *East Asia Millions*, January 1962.

as evidence of the relevance of the white missionary and trotted out the familiar rhetoric of "open doors." For example, the OMF highlighted invitations from institutions like Indonesia's Christian University of Sataliga as evidence that there were no indications of a "Missionary, Go Home" attitude amongst the nation's Christian populace.[599]

The OMF's new Asian members played a pivotal role in defending and inviting the white western missionary to work in Asia. Members such as Chua Wee Hian, member of the Fellowship of Evangelical Students and member of the OMF's advisory council for Singapore and Malaysia, criticized the history of Protestant missions for a list of sins including dominance of the churches, but he also insisted that western missionaries were needed in Asia since "missions todays must have an international membership to be effective."[600] Leona Choy, missionary and wife of Ted Choy the Co-Director of Ambassadors for Christ and an OMF Council Member in the U.S., reiterated the call for white evangelicals to join Asian missionaries in her article for *East Asia Millions* in 1967 stating, "No it is not *taps* for western missionaries. It is reveille—time to wake up and get involved in this exciting new revolution in spreading the Gospel to every corner of the earth."[601] Essentially, Asian evangelicals functioned as representative voices of their nations and races, and, in doing so, gave their approval to the prerogative of the white, western missionary to evangelize beyond his or her own national borders and race.

However, OMF agents regularly contrasted the vitality of these "new" nations and mobilized Asian groups with the lack of such energy among churches and Christians in the New Fields. Another OMF missionary, Elaine Woods, wrote of "Japan's New Mood"

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[599] "Teaching: Open Door in Indonesia/Wanted: Teachers, No "Missionary, Go Home" Here!" *East Asia Millions*, May 1964.
[600] Chua Wee Hian "Missionaries and missions in Asia Today," *East Asia Millions,* March 1967.
[601] Leona Choy, "Missions: A Three Stage Rocket," *East Asia Millions,* May 1967.

in the late 1960s as characterized by highways, skyscrapers, and even computerized trains, "the computer-run 130-mile-an-hour trains, passing a given point every fifteen minutes in each direction, are symbolic, not only of a few progressive scientists, but of the spirit of all Japan." This "mood" was evident everywhere Woods went except for the Japanese churches, "Although growing the church is small and weak… it gives little evidence of confidence in the power of Christ to revive or add to its numbers."[602]The ambivalence of the OMF, stating its support for Asian churches and simultaneous criticism of their "weakness," fueled concerns about leaving the project of evangelism entirely to Asian missionaries.

In justifying the continued role of the western missionary in the New Fields, the OMF also continued to propagate a number of prejudicial fears about Asian Christians. In contrast to observations of the rising strength and vigor of Christianity in Asia, OMF agents also insisted that in many areas, such as Hokkaido, churches consisted of a "mere handful of believers, the majority young people, who rarely get more teaching from the Word of God than the hour-long sermon on Sunday." While segments of Christianity in Asia were surging, the missionary insisted that the majority of churches at least in Japan were "untaught" and "static."[603]

Older ideas about the susceptibility of Asian Christians to declension were directly linked to the OMF's recruitment of white evangelicals in the U.S. In his article about the "Foreign Missionary as White Elephants," Griffiths argued in Thailand "the church is still so small and weak that the country is almost entirely unreached with the Gospel," and "even if a church grows in one generation, there may still be a recession in

[602] Elaine Woods, "Japan's New Mood," *East Asia Millions,* July 1968.
[603] Elaine Woods, "Japan's New Mood," *East Asia Millions,* July 1968.

the next." The organization also continued to challenge established churches in many nations because of their association with "modern theology," which OMF missionaries claimed "eroded the evangelistic concern of young pastors and seminary students."[604] Guarding against declension and protecting the spirit of evangelism among Asian churches were regarded as necessitating the continued presence of the white missionary.

The OMF utilized suspicions about the zealousness of Asian Christians in taking on the burden of evangelism to promote the missionary impulse among white evangelicals in countries like the U.S. For example, in October 1967 *East Asia Millions* featured a cartoon depicting a horse before a stream with the caption "Getting the Horse to Drink," to illustrate the society's struggles to encourage Asians to use literature for evangelism.[605] This message about the white western missionary as the necessary driving force behind the Asian missionary was promoted by Asian voices, too. For example, in 1967, Wu wrote that whatever assignment the white evangelicals took in Asia, whether it be in a seminary or as a bible teacher, their primary function was as "catalysts" who would "stimulate their Asian colleagues and congregations to adventure for God."[606]

The emphasis on discipleship training and student evangelism, with OMF missionaries espousing their commitment to training Asian evangelicals in the methods of taking the gospel far and wide, reinforced this sense of paternalism in having to foster and maintain the evangelistic ethos among Asians. In sum, fears about the sincerity of faith among Asian evangelicals remained critical to the ideology of the white western missionary's unbounded mobility as a human right and vessel for progress.

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[604] Michael C. Griffiths, "Foreign Missionary This Century's White Elephants," *East Asia Millions*, January 1968.
[605] Illustration, "Getting the Horse to Drink," *East Asia Millions*, October 1967.
[606] Chua Wee Hian "Missionaries and missions in Asia Today," *East Asia Millions,* March 1967.

Conclusion

The OMF's vision of itself as a "new instrument" did not resolve the dilemmas facing Protestant missions in the late 1960s. Pursuing racial integration and respect for the sovereignty of Asian evangelicals could not change the fact that OMF agents faced increasingly hostile environments in countries like Vietnam and Laos. Nor did these changes put to bed criticism of the missionary and its association with misguided foreign interventions in Asian societies.

Secondly, the OMF's rebalancing in favor of church-centric missionary practices was a slow process. By the spring of 1968 only 10% of the society's agents were assigned to work with churches, while the largest percentage of the society's missionaries (29%) were tasked with pioneering and church planting.[607] While the OMF once again talked of the need to work with the churches, a great deal of OMF agents continued to be sent out as pioneers working independently of any Asian authority or partnership.

Integration with the local and national churches as the focal point for evangelism in the New Fields proceeded lethargically as well. Declaring the society no longer a western institution did little to change the fact that most of the society's personnel, finances, and outlook originated in western countries like the U.S. By 1973, of the society's 859 members worldwide, the number of Asian members working for the OMF included just five missionaries from the Philippines, one from India, two Japanese, another from Singapore, and three members from Malaysia. The number of Asian evangelicals from countries like the U.S. remained less than a handful, and various

[607] "OMF Force at Work," *East Asia Millions,* April 1968.

countries in the New Fields such as Thailand and Indonesia did not yet have home councils.[608]

Ultimately, the OMF's changes in the 1960s were both ideological and symbolic in nature as achieving balance between the countries in the West with nations in East and Southeast Asia was difficult to put into practice. Against mounting pressure, the OMF's turn toward racial integration and cooperation with Asian churches was intended as a means to regain a sense of advance and progress. But even as equality and cooperation were pursued to a greater degree by the OMF, the society still propagated an ideology of mobility that saw progress as moving in circuits from west to east. Although Asian members now served as equal members and allies, they were not routed toward the "unevangelized" in the U.S. or Great Britain.

There was also the tendency of the OMF and its supporters to envision Asian evangelicals less as allies and equals and more so as critical vessels for the evangelical message. Mentions of the rights of Asian churches and evangelicals to lead evangelism were almost always balanced out by making allusions to the mounting pressures faced by white western missionaries. At times this contributed to the impression that Asian missionaries and churches were the society's emergency plan in the event of another expulsion in areas where the OMF enjoyed "uncertain footholds."[609] In other cases, the OMF played up the dynamism of Asian societies and stressed how integration would greatly accelerate the Protestant missionary movement's penetration of these nations. Frequently, OMF members like Glasser framed the decision to integrate as the means for the region's "speediest possible" evangelization. These ideas along with the goal of

[608] Overseas Missionary Fellowship Prayer Directory, (1973)
[609] "Helping Asians in the Missionary Task," *East Asia Millions*, February 1963.

sending white, western missionaries to act as "catalysts" led the OMF and its supporters to embrace Asian evangelicals and churches less out of respect for their sovereignty and recognition of their equality than as the means to fulfill their ambitions.

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Chapter 6

Rapprochement: "Creative Access" Missions in the People's Republic of China, 1972-1989

Introduction

President Nixon's visit to Beijing in 1972 unleashed feverish hopes among Protestant Christians the world over that a new era of missions to China was on the horizon. Almost immediately in the U.S. a number of Protestant missionary groups announced their intentions to plan for the return of the foreign missionary, with one particularly ambitious organization proclaiming that it would assemble and train over a thousand three-person "squads" to send to the PRC. The OMF was equally enticed by the potential of Sino-American rapprochement as the means behind resuming its calling for mainland China.

But the society was among a number of organizations that thought any hope of foreign missions returning in the "traditional" sense was unrealistic. Worse, such statements by mission organizations risked alienating the CCP and Chinese society before missions could even begin. Speaking for the CIM-OMF Leslie Lyall stated "brash adventurism by Americans and Europeans would severely embarrass the Christians in China and do untold damage to the cause of Christ." He warned, "1972 is not 1939, when foreigners forced their way into China at gunpoint; nor is it 1946, when foreigners returned to China right after the war, more or less expecting to restore the misguided paternal *status quo* of the prewar period. The approach to China in 1972, 1973, or whenever will be totally different."[610] Mindful of the imperialist past and hardships

[610] Leslie Lyall, "China Yesterday, OMF Today: What if China Opens?," *East Asia Millions*, February 1972.

brought on Chinese Christians by missionaries during the Korean War, particularly the scorn, suspicion, and harassment heaped upon them by the government and society for their association with the missionary, the OMF promised evangelicals that they would pioneer new avenues to evangelism and restoring ties with Chinese Christianity without alienating the CCP or society.

By the mid-1970s the OMF was already well into the process of transitioning back into being a China mission again. On an official level, the society launched a number of programs in research, publishing, radio, prayer, and discipleship training for Chinese in the PRC. For much of the 1970s, however, travel accounts did little to buoy the Christian evangelical's spirits. During the 1960s, the majority of China watchers had claimed that the Cultural Revolution had annihilated institutionalized religion. Such reports along with Chinese Christianity's almost complete isolation from contacts outside the PRC caused the OMF and its members profound spiritual turmoil. Members such as Sylvia Houston described the "long periods of silence" produced by the Cultural Revolution as "deafening." The early 1970s proved equally maddening as most travelers reported seeing no traces of Christianity in society.[611] While some of the first visitors to China in 1971 and 1972 attended church services in cities such as Shanghai and Beijing, accounts in the *New York Times* referred to most of the churches as "derelict and boarded up, others in use as community centers, still other converted into workshops." Most reports indicated few churches were open nation-wide and attendance for worship incredibly modest.[612]

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[611] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (March/April, 1987).
[612] Creighton Lacy, *Coming Home— to China* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978).

Initial tours by foreigners saw only the complete eradication of Chinese Christianity and by extension any traces of the Protestant missionary's past in the PRC. Former China missionary and then professor emeritus with the Duke University Divinity School Creighton Lacy toured in 1977 with the US-China Peoples Friendship Association and announced, "in short, I can find no evidence (from extensive reading or from limited observation) that any visible, organized, institutional Christianity exists in the People's Republic."[613] Among Protestant evangelicals such accounts contributed to the sense that the exodus in the 1950s had been a judgment upon the failure of the missionary movement.

For much of the 1970s the slow pace of normalization, particularly the limits of travel and exchange, stymied some of the initial political and religious exuberance of rapprochement. Domestic turmoil in both countries as Mao and Nixon gave way to their successors sidetracked improving relations between Beijing and Washington. What was accomplished largely dealt with issues concerning the geopolitics of the Cold War.[614] For many Americans, their impatience with Sino-American rapprochement focused on the limitations of travel. By the end of the 1970s, travelers and exchange groups grew resentful of the CCP's scripted tours of factories, communes, and limited number of cities and vistas open to tours. At the heart of their criticism were charges that travelers in the PRC lacked the "freedom" necessary to see and experience the "real China." These complaints were even more common among Christian travelers and ex-China missionaries, who especially took issue with the lack of liberty to distribute Christian literature or contact Chinese Christians in the PRC. In many respects, these tensions

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[613] Creighton Lacy, *Coming Home— to China* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978).
[614] Paul Cohen, *America's Response to China: A History of Sino-American Relations,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), p. 219-221.

reflected an ideological principle at the core of American perspectives on China, what historian John King Fairbank has called the U.S. desire for complete and unlimited access to China and the Chinese.[615]

Following agreements by the Carter-Deng administrations, however, Sino-American relations entered a watershed era and renewed hope in the prospects of normalization for reviving missions to China. Firstly, trade and the number of cultural, educational, and scientific exchanges grew steadily between the PRC and the international community. In this respect, tourism played a critical role. Following Deng's rise to leadership, tourism became a critical component of the nation's Four Modernizations and mass tourism bloomed in the 1980s. Following the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, tourism policies were revised to reflect Deng's belief that tourism was a powerful form of economic exchange that could also be used to lure foreign investment. In 1978, the PRC's share of international tourism was of no consequence, but by the early 1980s, it was already among the top ten destinations in terms of international arrivals and receipts. Across the nation many provincial governments, private enterprises, and tourism officials capitalized on foreign investment and revenues to fund the creation of thousands of hotels, leisure services, tourist attractions and historical sites.[616] An increasing number of Americans began to take advantage of these various opportunities.

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[615]John King Fairbank, "China: Time for a Policy," *The Atlantic Monthly*, (1957).

[616] Foreign travel and tourism in the PRC was still an emerging industry in the 1970s and 1980s. The number of foreign travelers permitted within the PRC borders in the years from the early 1950s to the mid-1970s was comparatively small and primarily limited to official exchanges. However, as relations deteriorated with the Soviet Union even the number of visitors from communist nations dwindled. Travel was a political instrument, not a commercial industry. Most travelers came from within the Soviet bloc in Eastern Europe, with the exception being overseas Chinese given permission to visit relatives. In bound travel from abroad since the revolutionary period was tightly

Not only were relations between the two countries expanded, Carter directly addressed the spiritual content of rapprochement by asking Deng to reopen Christian churches, promote the printing of bibles, and allow missionaries to return. Because of the Carter administration's emphasis on human rights in foreign policy and the president's own Christian beliefs, issues of religious toleration and freedom became integral to normalization.

On the first two matters, Carter received Deng's prompt agreement, and the international community witnessed Christianity's resurrection in Chinese society, as gradually seminaries, churches, and Christian presses returned to public life in the late 1970s and 1980s. Subsequently, spiritual relations between Chinese Christians and the outside world mirrored the normalization of Sino-American diplomacy in the form of official Christian delegations and exchanges. By the 1980s, official Christianity's resurrection was symbolized by the return of the Three Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) and newly created China Christian Council as both groups welcomed a number of representatives from the international Christian community to the PRC. In the early 1970s much of this engagement revolved around a single man, Bishop Ding Guangxun of the Anglican Church, received numerous Christian delegations from North America and Europe. Although evangelicals often opposed organizations like World Council of Churches (WCC), the participation of Chinese Protestants in international conferences made them optimistic of improving relations. Bishop Ding's presence at the sixth WCC

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controlled by separate bureaucratic agencies and split into three categories defined as foreign non-Chinese; overseas Chinese, and "compatriots." The last two groups applied via the China Travel Service, while the first worked with the China International Travel Service. Honggen Xiao, "The Discourse of Power: Deng Xiaoping and Tourism Development in China," *Tourism Management*, Vol. 27, No. 5, (Oct. 2006): p. 803-814; Linda K. Richter, "About Face: The Political Evolution of Chinese Tourism Policy," from *The Politics of Tourism in Asia* (University of Hawaii Press, 1989), p. 23-51.

Assembly in Vancouver in 1983 was the first by any delegate from the PRC. Later, the newly organized Chinese Christian Council (CCC) made visits to India and Japan in the 1980s.

More importantly, there were signs of Christianity's revival outside the TSPM within the "underground" or "house churches." As scholars such as Lian Xi have shown, the 1970s and 1980s were a period of dramatic expansion for many different independent Protestant movements that were familiar to the OMF such as True Jesus Church and Little Flock, but also new groups such as the Narrow Gate in the Wilderness and the Three Grades of Servants. These groups, along with countless other house churches, thrived in rural areas in provinces such as Henan, Fujian, Zhejiang, and Shaanxi. Rather than churches struggling to survive, the OMF found groups swelled with evangelistic energy by the state's new policy toward religion. Churches were reopened, public worship tolerated, and numerous imprisoned leaders and evangelists were released, leading to a groundswell of Christian activity that was beyond control of the state.[617]

On the matter of missionaries, Deng was firm with Carter in stressing that the nation's history with Christian missions and Chinese Christianity's emphasis on self-reliance and independence forbade their return. While disappointing in many regards to

[617] Xi argues that the combination of the new government policy toward religion in the 1970s and 1980s along with economic reforms brewed a potent recipe for revival. According to Xi amidst groups like the TJC or Narrow Gate filled the void left by the state's evaporating social safety net and crumbling socialist ideology. Many Protestant groups offered their services as healers, exorcists, or various other "quasi-magical pursuits," that provided the now vulnerable rural masses struggling with inflation or dislocation from the communes a sense of comfort and security. Further, their messages of transcendent meaning found through spiritual salvation but also suffering and persecution struck a chord with throngs of Chinese in this period. Despite periodic outbursts of excessive state violence and suppression, Xi finds that the combination of these independent Christian movement's adaptability, secrecy, and proud defiance of both the CCP and even the TSPM allowed these groups to survive these assaults and even expand their base of support in the 1980s and later the 1990s. Lian Xi, *Redeemed By Fire*: *The Rise of Popular Christianity,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

Protestant evangelicals and the OMF, reports of Christianity's revival and new avenues to participate directly in Sino-American normalization such as travel to mainland China restored the evangelical's belief in divine sovereignty and the exodus of the 1950s as a "strategic" redeployment. As one former China missionary visiting a church founded by the CIM in Lanzhou, China, wrote, he had "longed" for this return since he flew over the tents of the People's Liberation Army decades ago. His return trip to the PRC "reinforced" his "belief in the sovereignty of God over nations."[618] Before 1989, flows of people back and forth between the PRC and the larger international community produced greater and greater optimism about the prospects for both political and spiritual rapprochement.

These developments—Deng's various reforms and Chinese Christianity's recovery and restoration of ties with the international community—greatly influenced the OMF's approach to resuming missionary work in the PRC in the 1970s and 1980s. Like scholars such as Christopher Endy, I explore how diplomatic concepts like "rapprochement" were given spiritual and cultural meanings by the social practices and ideas of Christian travelers and expatriates. In these decades the OMF expanded its work in China as a "creative access nation," areas where Christians were denied entry as religious workers, and used other means to gain access to society to evangelize. The OMF publicized and facilitated for evangelicals in the U.S. and around the world a chance to engage in evangelism through prayer and financial support, but also more directly via travel, study, expatriatism, and a number of other avenues for contact with Chinese made possible by Sino-American normalization.

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[618] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (January/February 1987)

Thus, rapprochement was primarily a spiritual process for many evangelicals, and one grounded in various forms of mobility. I argue the idea of a "creative access" missionary work was key to the evangelical's ideas of spiritual rapprochement with the PRC, since the OMF promoted accommodation to both the CCP and TSPM, but also more generally to Chinese spiritual leadership. Largely abandoning the idea of spiritual warfare against communism, the OMF promoted spiritual détente with both the CCP and TSPM. Not wanting to risk provoking the state or society into "closing the door," the OMF self-censored its anti-communist rhetoric in return for access to mainland China and promised to engage in limited forms of evangelism that respected the authority of the church, the state, and primacy of Chinese in evangelism within their national borders. Ultimately, the allure of access to Chinese civilization softened the OMF's anti-communist ethos and the agenda of spiritual warfare against the CCP.

However, the OMF continued to engage in missions by recruiting and mobilizing Chinese evangelicals inside and outside the PRC, while white evangelicals were relegated to a number of "secondary roles." In the process of respecting Chinese spiritual sovereignty, the mission propagated the idea of Chinese evangelicals as a "dynamic" and "revolutionary" force in China's "Opening Up." Their mobility was essential to the evangelical's notions of progress and was a barometer for religious freedom in the PRC. And while the OMF resisted directly criticizing the CCP or the TSPM, the society remained a vocal proponent of the Chinese Christian's religious rights, especially for propagation. An equally important facet of the OMF's China Program, then, was its focus on educating evangelicals outside the PRC on the "truth" about Chinese Christianity via the Pray for China Fellowship and China Awareness Seminars. Through the creation of

China Awareness Seminars, OMF missionaries like David Adeney turned Christian tourism into a form of advocacy for the religious rights of Chinese evangelicals. Ultimately, the OMF sought to make travel and exchange the means by which the international evangelical community accepted Chinese spiritual sovereignty but also pressured the government into granting Christians, foreign and domestic, greater religious freedom and rights.

By the late 1980s, this process showed the evangelical's willingness to abandon the moniker of missionary and contribute to China's campaigns in the Four Modernizations. Using "friendship" as a means to engage in "discreet" evangelism, the OMF promoted the sense that by making contributions to society the "creative access" missionary gained both governmental and societal approval to evangelize. Hoping to purge Christianity's stigmatization among elites and youth, the OMF invested in Christian professionals and especially scientists working in the PRC to enhance its appeal. Even more ambitious was the OMF's desire to send Christian professionals to aid "liberal" elements within the CCP and TSPM in a bid to keep China "Opening Up."

Chinese Sovereignty and "Creative Access Missions"

Within the narrow scope of interaction between the PRC and countries like the U.S. afforded by normalization in the 1970s, the OMF promoted accommodation with the CCP and moved away from the idea of spiritual warfare that had dominated the society's perspective in the 1950s and 1960s. Dropping the defiant anti-communist ethos of the 1950s and 1960s, the OMF encouraged establishing forms of ministry that would avoid conflict with the CCP or risk creating hardships for Chinese evangelicals.

Prior to Sino-American rapprochement, the OMF had promised in the event of an opportunity to return to China to bring a militant approach to missions aimed at toppling communism. Calling the PRC a "serious threat" to the world as a nuclear power, OMF writers such as Leslie Lyall promised that if evangelical missions were ever to return they would match "the dedication and enthusiasm of China's Red Guards." Missions would perhaps have to employ "cell type meetings" similar to cadres or the Communist Youth League and success would depend the sacrifices of Chinese Christians. Triumph over communism, Lyall proposed, would require "the Christian churches must be prepared to beat the Communists at their own game—to out-do them, out-dare them, out-live them and, if necessary, out-die them."[619] In the context of China's ongoing Cultural Revolution, the OMF still planned to continue its spiritual battle with the CCP and mobilize resistance to communism, perhaps to martyrdom, amongst Chinese Christians. These defiant and militant attitudes, however, softened dramatically after the Nixon visit.

Instead, the OMF approached the opportunity to return to the PRC by seeking out opportunities for missionary work that would not be defined by opposition to the CCP. While elements within the Protestant missionary movement chafed against the limits on religion set by the CCP, the OMF argued that it was necessary to first "exhaust" all legal options available to work with mainland Protestants and promote the faith. Despite growing impatience with the limited religious tolerance and freedom for Christianity in the 1980s, the OMF still favored "moving cautiously and praying fervently" while "seeking appropriate channels" to evangelize and "build up" the Chinese church. Most

[619]Leslie Lyall, *Confrontation: Christianity in Communist China-Red Sky at Night* (Moody Press, 1969): p. 110.

especially, the OMF railed against unilateral actions taken by groups that could threaten to "close" China to the entire foreign community.[620]

The OMF's definition of what constituted "appropriate" channels for resuming work as a China mission was influenced by a number of factors. The first was, of course, the well-known hostility of the CCP, TSPM, and Chinese society in general to the western missionary as a symbol of the imperialist past. While CCP leaders like Deng made clear their opposition to the missionary's return, leaders within the resurrected national church and institutional Christianity in the form of the TSPM and CCC made their opinion known on this matter equally clear. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, TSPM and CCC spokesman consistently and strongly opposed the resumption of missions to China, warning against foreign intrusion in Chinese Christianity. Spokesman such as Bishop Ding Guangxun counseled the international Christian community that their desires to aid Chinese Christians were best limited to prayers, a channel of spiritual support that he saw as "free" from political accusations. Numerous times Ding and other TSPM spokesman warned and even condemned foreign intervention in the country's religious affairs.[621]

In response, the OMF consistently communicated its support for the position of the TSPM and many of the principles it espoused. Like the TSPM, the OMF praised the idea of Chinese Christianity's independence from the foreign community and expressed its desire to engage in relations without "interfering" with the rights of Chinese,

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[620] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,*
[621] Leona Choy, "China Inland Mission and the Church in China," *East Asia Millions,* October/November 1980.; Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July 1981)

especially in regards to evangelism.[622] Further, OMF spokesmen celebrated Chinese Christianity's complete achievement of the three-selfs in the absence of the missionary movement, and generally accepted the role of the TSPM as a mediator between Chinese Christians and the government. Indeed, throughout much of the 1980s, OMF publications praised the TSPM for its efforts to re-open churches and seminaries, publish bibles and Christian materials, and provide religious training and instruction. Far less inclined than in 1950s and 1960s to see the TSPM's expansion as a threat to Christianity, the society encouraged U.S. evangelicals to be hopeful that the TSPM's success in reopening churches and building new offices across the nation was evidence of Christianity's progress and devoted prayers for their support.

In contrast to the OMF's strong opposition to the TSPM in the 1950s and 1960s, the society now avoided direct criticism of the institution or its members. That TSPM leadership suffered publically for their faith during the Cultural Revolution many in the OMF to sympathize with them in the 1980s. Altogether, the OMF position on the TSPM in the 1980s was much more nuanced. Even during periods when the TSPM was accused inside and outside China of aiding the government in restricting religious freedom, the OMF China Program usually refrained from engaging in direct public criticism. In part this was because the OMF feared that too harsh criticism of the TSPM, or the CCP for that matter, would risk "closing" China to the foreign community. As a result, the OMF issued orders to members and spokesman to refrain from printing anything too provocative or directly critical of the TSPM or CCP.[623]

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[622] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (October 1981); Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (December 1981).
[623] Martha Chan, "Guidelines for China Publications" *China Research Center*, (October/December 1981)

Another factor in these debates on renewing missions to China was that they occurred in the wake of the Bangkok World Mission Conference and rising hostility to the sending of missionaries from colonial powers to Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the 1970s. In Bangkok, representatives from a number of Asian churches proposed a moratorium on missionaries from the "North" and funds being channeled to areas of the world long the focus of Protestant missions. In addition, the Bangkok conference restated the sovereignty of the national and local churches within their borders and promoted the concept of non-interference as a means to protect their independence.[624] These currents gave further impetus toward the OMF's embrace of the national or local church's right to lead evangelism. The conference further inspired the OMF to exercise caution in asserting the rights of white evangelicals to engage in missionary work, especially when Asian Christians were so publically opposed to these ideas.

All of these factors heightened the OMF's concern for the effect of the foreign Christian's actions and words on the Chinese Christian. Conscious of the society's own failures in the 1950s, the OMF China Program warned against engaging in any form outreach that would be "adding to their pressure by being insensitive to their situation."[625] As a result, the OMF decried "unilateral" actions by international groups such as "smuggling" bibles in large numbers into the PRC. In 1981 the Pray for China Fellowship, a prayer society formed by the OMF focused solely on China, warned that reports in western media that foreign groups had exported over 1 million bibles to China had led to a nation-wide campaign by government officials and the TSPM to seize and

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624 Tobias Brandner, "The Political Contexts of Religious Exchanges: A Study on Chinese Protestants' International Relations," *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs,* Vol. 42, No. 3, (2013), p. 156.
625 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (January/February 1982)

destroy the "contraband" and to the arrest of many Christians.[626] Such activities subjected Chinese Christians to the wrath of the state, and necessitated the exercise of both caution and discretion in planning evangelism to the PRC.

There was no more important factor considered by the OMF, however, than reports of Christianity's explosive growth and recovery in the 1980s. Through travel and renewed correspondence made possible by normalization, OMF contacts established relations with various house churches and testified to Christianity's revival. In provinces like Zhejiang, the OMF estimated Christianity's followers to number over 700,000 or maybe even more. In Henan, a field once dominated by the CIM, OMF members encountered an impressive underground church network with thousands of followers and itinerant evangelists roaming widely. Over the course of 1980s video tapes taken during a tour of Honan that were relayed to the OMF China Program showed "far more Christians than imagined" singing hymns that were popular during the society's past in China. Even more surprising, a few reports indicated that in certain regions in the PRC entire communes or cadres were composed of Christians.[627] While the TSPM and government sources often projected much lower numbers, the society claimed enough evidence existed from both the TSPM and contacts with the house churches to suggest that the "overall picture" across the nation was "spectacular growth" to the extent that it "puts western churches to shame."[628] Christianity's growth in the absence of traditional missions reinforced the society's tendency to urge recognition of the Chinese right to lead evangelism.

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[626] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (October 1981).
[627] Lian Xi, *Redeemed By Fire*: *The Rise of Popular Christianity,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 208.
[628] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July/August 1987).

Thus, for a number of political and spiritual reasons, the OMF espoused respect for Chinese authority in evangelism and sought accommodation with both the TSPM and CCP in the 1970s and 1980s. The OMF was cognizant of both the missionary's troubled place in the Chinese past and the unlikelihood of the state to ever issue visas for missionary work. The resurgence of Christianity within the PRC in the late 1970s and 1980s and apparent growing religious tolerance and freedom assuaged evangelical fears. That white, western missionary's increasingly signified exploitation and inequality to Christians in Asia added further pressure to recognize the Chinese spiritual sovereignty. All of these factors contributed to the OMF's sense that engaging in traditional missions endangered Christianity in mainland China and was a potential spoiler to Sino-American normalization.

The OMF championed the mainland evangelical's right to lead evangelization by an increasing number of references to the "strength" of the churches inside the PRC. OMF allies like Leona Choy argued against the notion that Chinese churches were "emaciated or weak" and pointed to their evangelistic activities and growth as signs of their "surprising strength."[629] Such reports assuaged any fears among the OMF's supporters of the need to promote a missionary vision within the churches. In contrast, letters from Chinese evangelicals received by the OMF referred to the "pioneer spirit" within the churches, and numerous travel accounts from OMF members testified to evidence of mainland Christians evangelizing aggressively.[630]

Tours like Choy's showed that there was no desire amongst even underground Chinese Christianity for the return of the "traditional" missionary. In rural areas, Choy

[629] Leona Choy, "China Inland Mission and the Church in China," *East Asia Millions,* October/November 1980.
[630] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (April 1987).

found congregations alive with worship, study of the bible, tract distribution, and witness across districts and provinces. Based on her trips, she disabused U.S. evangelicals of the notion that missionaries should be sent to the rescue of Chinese Christianity. Choy concluded that the reports from Christian visitors to the PRC in the 1970s on Chinese Christianity's "weak" and "emaciated" condition had been greatly exaggerated. Rather, she saw communities with "surprising strength" still actively evangelizing despite lacking the traditional infrastructure— schools, church buildings, publications—and broad rights to public propagation and worship. And while these communities "rejoiced" at contact with the foreign community, the churches she visited never broached the subject of the missionary's return. Most communities, she relayed to the OMF, were highly resistant to the idea as foreign intervention.[631]

There were certainly still aspects of the OMF China Program intended to undermine the authority of the TSPM and CCP. For one, the OMF resisted any attempt to completely prohibit the flow of foreign literature and radio to the mainland. At several points in the 1980s, the TSPM denounced the distribution of foreign literature and even radio programs as violations of Chinese Christianity's independence. In defense of its own China Program, the OMF claimed it had "no desire to divide or interfere" with Chinese Christianity "but while we recognize the right to evangelize China rests with the Chinese church, we must as fellow members of the Body of Christ, respond to any requests that come from them."[632] While the society supported the TSPM leadership's and the necessity of Chinese Christianity's independence, the OMF challenged its interpretation that the sending literature or engaging in radio witness was imperialistic.

631 Leona Choy, "China Inland Mission and the Church in China," *East Asia Millions,* October/November 1980.
632 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (October/December 1981).

Most mainland Christians, the OMF argued, did not see such activities as a violation of their spiritual rights, and the society thus did not see them as "illegal."[633] Thus, the OMF reserved the right to bypass the authority of both the TSPM and Beijing. When faced with letters from Chinese Christians and pastors requested bibles, hymnals, or materials for evangelism, the OMF decided in favor of the individual's right to religious freedom or the right of the local church to speak for Chinese Christianity over the state and national church's sovereignty. In doing so, the OMF still ultimately reserved the right to choose which Chinese were legitimate expressions of spiritual self-determination and which were not.

In extreme cases, the OMF even announced its willingness to work outside the bounds set by the CCP and TSPM. The OMF China Program did not rule out the possibility of engaging in "illegal" activities, but it advised such measures should only be done after long and intense prayerful consideration and in such cases when "legal" cooperation was impossible.[634] And although the OMF promoted accommodation to the CCP and TSPM, a critical component of its return to mission work in the PRC was to try and pressure both groups into granting Christians, both foreign and domestic, greater religious rights. To this end, much of the Pray for China Fellowship and China Awareness Seminars were devoted to monitoring religious freedom and tolerance in the PRC. The result was that although the OMF recognized each group's political authority, the society's acceptance was predicated on the idea that controls were gradually being loosened and resisted the government's claims to narrowly circumscribe the rights of Chinese Christians.

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[633] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (August 1981).
[634] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (October 1981).

These developments and the society's embrace of integration and the Asian evangelical's right to lead missions prior to Sino-American normalization made the society an ardent proponent of the Chinese evangelical's authority in evangelism within the borders of the PRC. Conversely, the OMF resisted the notion that the foreign community was unable to engage in any form of ministry or evangelism. OMF publications insisted that Hudson Taylor's "mandate" for missions to China and the Chinese the mission was still at the heart of the society's calling. Rejecting the notion that any form of evangelism in the PRC was "narrow-minded," or represented the return of "gunboats and cultural imperialism," the OMF established that there were a number of legitimate ways for the foreign community to be involved in ministries to mainland China.[635]

The most important among them was inspiring overseas Chinese to a missionary vision for the PRC. While the OMF largely accepted that the return of the white missionary would never be officially allowed it also joined a host of other international evangelical organizations in arguing Sino-American normalization would allow overseas Chinese to return. In the late 1960s, Leslie Lyall's book *Red Sky at Night: Confrontation, Christianity in China* predicted that in the near future opportunities could occur for overseas Chinese and other Asian Christians to function as missionaries in the PRC.[636]

Such ideas were founded upon the notion that overseas Chinese possessed a racial right to engage in cross-border evangelism to the PRC. In the 1970s publications like *East Asia Millions* touted that the "primary responsibility" for the evangelism within any

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[635] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (February 1984).
[636] Leslie Lyall, *Red Sky at Night: Confrontation, Christianity in China* (Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd. 1970)

country lay with "its own people," which in the case of China included all overseas Chinese. In the 1980s the society's new International Director, James Hudson Taylor, III referred to overseas Chinese as "the bridge between American evangelicals and the church of China." Taylor argued that Chinese evangelicals would "make the initial penetration" in the PRC because they had the "correct race and the correct language." The society's position on these matters was echoed by a number of evangelical missions and Chinese churches. For example, in 1975 Ed Torjesen of The Evangelical Alliance Mission also referred to Chinese Protestants as the "most effective vessel" for evangelizing because they were not troubled by the same racial or linguistic barriers faced by non-Chinese evangelicals.

With the Chinese Christian playing a central role in the return of Protestant missions to the PRC, recruiting overseas Chinese became critical to the OMF's ambitions in Asia. However, the OMF's commitment to sending overseas Chinese as the "first wave" was complicated by the organization's lack of diversity. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the OMF's integration with Asian evangelicals continued to proceed slowly. In fact, the OMF's expansion on the European continent in Germany and Switzerland proceeded at a faster pace than in any Asian nation. In 1985, the combined number of OMF missionaries from Germany (45) and Switzerland (63) outnumbered the total number of missionaries from the nations of Taiwan (4), Philippines (9), India (2), Hong Kong (11), Indonesia (2), Korea (2), Malaysia (9), Singapore (7), and Thailand (1). Even within nations like the U.S., the OMF continued to be composed almost solely of Caucasians, and only added its first African-American members in the mid-1970s. [637]

[637] Overseas Missionary Fellowship, *Prayer Directory* (March 1985).

After the "opening" of China, the OMF intensified its efforts to recruit overseas Chinese to Chinese churches in the 1970s and 1980s. To do so, the OMF loosely allied with a number of international organizations. Among them were a number of organizations led by Chinese evangelicals such as the North America Congress of Chinese Evangelicals, the Fellowship of American Chinese Evangelicals, and the Chinese for Christ ministry of noted evangelist Calvin Chao.

Another critical partner in these campaigns was the newly founded Billy Graham Center's (BGC) China Program and the OMF's longstanding feeder base at Wheaton College. Along with groups like Campus Crusade for Christ and professors from Chinese University of Hong Kong, the OMF advised the BGC on the creation of its own China Program in the 1980s. James Taylor, III, the OMF's International Director, provided the BGC with insights into the strategy of missions for China, and OMF collaborators like the Far East Broadcasting Company, Trans World Radio, and Christian Communications Ltd. provided research materials and consulting for radio and literature programs. As a result, the OMF exercised a great deal of influence on the BGC's China Program and its outlook toward the Chinese churches and evangelism.

The BGC China Program then joined the OMF in labeling the mobilization of overseas Chinese as a "strategic" weapon in the return of the missionary movement to the PRC. The BGC China Program's top priorities were providing literature and training materials to Chinese churches, but also "equipping and training Chinese students, graduates, and professionals to carry the Gospel to China." The BGC China Program shared the OMF's view on overseas Chinese as a potentially revolutionary force, stating "revolutions in China always have been logistically supported by overseas Chinese, and

usually started and spread among the grass-roots by students. The Chinese students in North America meet these two criteria."[638] Despite its own lack of Chinese missionaries, the OMF succeeded in forming institutional alliances and disseminating ideas about overseas Chinese as a dynamic and potentially revolutionary missionary force.

Continuing the OMF's strong relations with Wheaton College and the BGC enhanced the society's access to the heart of the evangelical community in the U.S. and promotions among the Chinese American community in nearby Chicago. In addition to the college's reputation as the nation's most respected evangelical higher educational institution, the town of Wheaton was considered by many to be the "evangelical center of the world" home to the offices of *Christianity Today*, Scripture Press, Tyndale House Publishing, and the National Association of Evangelicals. Only thirty minutes from Chicago, home to the third largest Chinese American population and several large Chinese Christian churches, the BGC China Program helped groups like the OMF in cultivating a generation of Chinese evangelicals for service. In addition, the BGC China Program sent delegates to campuses like the University of Illinois, creating bible studies groups, distributing publications and advertisements for programs like the Christian Communications Ltd., and holding Chinese Christian conferences attended by OMF representatives.

Deputation work was also routed in search of greater access to areas of the U.S. densely populated by Chinese churches. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the OMF maintained offices across the United States in Illinois, Washington, California, Florida, South Carolina, Texas, Pennsylvania, and Oregon. From these areas the organization's

[638] Billy Graham China Program Papers, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

presence was felt through deputation visits and outreach on college campuses in states like Arizona, New Mexico, North Carolina, Alabama, Wisconsin, Colorado, New Jersey, Georgia, and Kentucky as well. However, the drive to inspire and recruit Chinese missionaries made states like California even more critical to the OMF. With regular deputation engagements, prayer circles, and conferences in cities such as Los Angeles since the 1940s, the OMF had a strong reputation among evangelicals in the state. In general, the OMF's reach in the southwest had increased since the 1950s as the society built relations with churches in Los Angeles, San Jose, Glendale, Pasadena, Tucson, Phoenix, and numerous smaller cities in California, Nevada, and Arizona.

Inside California, the need for the mission to expand its contacts with Chinese Christians drove the OMF to find new "openings" among Chinese Americans. Mission representatives such as George Kraft, an OMF missionary with decades of experience in both mainland China and Taiwan led the society's efforts to expand contacts with Chinese churches in California's Bay Area. Returning from the field, Kraft first helped to form an "embryonic" Chinese church in San Jose, and worked regularly with Calvin Chao and Chinese for Christ at meetings across California. As a local representative of the OMF, Kraft built on these connections and opportunities to witness to Chinese Christians and attempted to expand OMF relations with Chinese groups in Oakland and San Francisco.[639]

[639]Letter to Ernest Heimbach from George Kraft, January 14, 1976; Letter to George Kraft from Ernest Heimbach, February 3 1976; Letter to Ernest Heimbach from George Kraft, February 6, 1976; Letter to Ernest Heimbach from George Kraft, February 7, 1976; Letter to Ernest Heimbach from George Kraft, April 7, 1976; Letter to Ernest Heimbach from George Kraft, June 30, 1976; Letter to Ernest Heimbach from George Kraft, July 21, 1976; Letter to Ernest Heimbach from George Kraft, December 2, 1976.

Outside of Kraft's work in the 1980s, the OMF employed a number of members as "ministers-at large" to expand its influence on Chinese and Asian evangelicals in the American southwest. In the 1980s these included George Steed, Will Bruce, and Frank Harris. Among his duties for the OMF, Steed contributed to the society's Pray for China Fellowship, regularly visited Chinese churches in the Southwest, and met weekly with students from Hong Kong at the Fuller Theological Seminary for discipleship training as future missionaries. Harris also focused on ministry to the Chinese churches encouraging them to found Sunday schools and discipleship training activities to recruit Chinese American youth for the OMF. While Bruce handled the majority of the OMF deputation work at Christian conferences and churches, all three men regularly preached before U.S. evangelicals on missions to the PRC and expounded on the missionary vision.[640]

Driving the OMF's campaigns for the mobilization of overseas Chinese were criticisms that a missionary vision was not prevalent among Chinese churches. In July 1985 the OMF reported that outside mainland China there were an estimated 4700 Chinese churches worldwide, but of the 50,000 missionaries working worldwide, there were less than 500 Chinese.[641] The OMF urged supporters to pray for this vision to evangelize aggressively to take hold of Chinese Protestants. Further, the mission encouraged that the right to lead evangelism in the PRC was also a duty, one that it was afraid Chinese evangelicals were in danger of shirking. Within this schema of Protestant missions, then, it was the responsibility of white evangelicals to aggressively propagate the missionary vision to overseas Chinese, an idea that was further reinforced by the

[640] USA Home Council Notes, "Summary of Ministers at Large Meeting," April 7 1983.
[641] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July 1985).

mobility of OMF agents across the U.S. as a means to more aggressively promote this vision within Chinese churches.

Much of the rest of the OMF's campaigns to send overseas Chinese to the PRC, however, concerned prayer. Prayer warriors and supporters of missions such as the OMF like Peggy Weston had been investing their hopes in a generation of Chinese missionaries entering the PRC long before Sino-American rapprochement. In the mid-1960s, Weston wrote, "And I pray for overseas Chinese, especially in the countries of Southeast Asia, that they might be prepared—when God opens the door to China again—to return with a strong Gospel witness."[642] In the event of a return to China, OMF supporters had long believed Chinese Christians would lead the return of the missionary movement.

Prayer materials from the OMF in the 1970s and 1980s gave evangelicals a greater sense of agency in China's evangelization by using prayerful intercession to direct a variety of movements by Chinese Christians. Commonly, prayer materials asked evangelicals to focus on travelers so that "contacts made when travelling…may count for the Kingdom," and also to focus on the daily encounters Christians in the U.S. and elsewhere in the West had with Chinese studying overseas. This included requests for prayers for groups flowing back and forth between the PRC for sporting competitions, musical performances, and scientific and economic exchanges.[643] In another example, on Thursdays, the Pray for China Fellowship focused on praying for businessmen, academics, English teachers, and tourists visiting the PRC.[644]

A critical component of the OMF's China Program was praying overseas Chinese to the PRC as missionaries. Almost all prayer materials of the OMF China Program

[642] Peggy Weston, "I pray for China," *East Asia Millions*, April 1964.
[643] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (March 1984).
[644] Brochure for Pray for China Fellowship, OMF USA Home Council Notes.

featured a reminder to concentrate on overseas Chinese visiting friends and relatives in the PRC to facilitate evangelism. In these hopes Chinese Americans figured prominently. In 1985, the OMF notified supporters that there were over 1 million Chinese-Americans in the U.S., who could potentially exploit their familial networks and friends in the PRC to advance the gospel. Hong Kong Christians, however, were seen as just as important, if not more so, to the OMF's ambitions and the society's ministry to mobilize evangelicals in that city for missionary work were expanded dramatically as well. [645]

Prayer reflected the OMF's desires to influence the movements of Chinese Christians inside the PRC as well. Despite the official limitations set by the CCP and TSPM on proselytization, OMF contacts with underground churches suggested that the missionary vision among Chinese Christians was flourishing in the 1980s. While protecting their anonymity, the OMF provided numerous accounts in the 1980s of Chinese taking up the call to evangelism. Prayer materials featured accounts describing the journeys of "Brother X" as he crossed rural areas stopping in numerous villages to preach and engage in home visits with many fellow believers. In Dalian, OMF agents reported seeing Christian messages on wall posters distributed by village churches, and rural homes in Zhejiang and Fujian displaying crosses on their doors.[646] A visitor to Lanzhou, a former China missionary, recounted the rural itinerations of a factory worker.[647] In many areas, the OMF claimed that lay Christians walked for three hours just to hear evangelical preachers, or traveled for over a day in areas around Kunming to attend Christmas services at a former China Inland mission church.[648]

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[645] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (August 1985).
[646] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (June 1986).
[647] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (October 1986).
[648] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (April 1985).

These accounts of Chinese evangelicals were used by the OMF to keep Christians outside the PRC focusing their prayers on mobilizing Chinese evangelicals to spread the gospel far and wide. Nearly every monthly prayer letter featured requests to support China's house church leaders and "traveling evangelists" roaming the countryside. Thus, via prayer, evangelicals outside China invested in the mobility of Chinese evangelicals as a source of progress and hope for the nation's future. Particular patterns of mobility came to signify Christianity's re-emergence in society and growing acceptance and toleration of religion in the PRC. As a result, evangelicals outside China prayed fervently for Chinese evangelicals engaging in propagation beyond the walls of the church, circulating between rural and urban churches, and taking up cross-city or provincial itinerations. Additionally, the OMF pointed to these movements as signs of Chinese Christianity's spiritual sovereignty and fitness to lead the nation's evangelization.[649]

Signs of Chinese Christianity's organization skills in evangelism equally impressed evangelicals outside the PRC. OMF visitors testified to the creation of training centers and conferences for evangelism established in Shandong and North Central China.[650] In other cases, the OMF observed efforts at cross-provincial training and bible teaching to enforce orthodoxy.[651] Increasing organization and networks of cross-provincial evangelism were praised by the OMF as signs of underground Christianity's vitality, missionary vision, and maturing leadership. At the same time, prayers reflected the OMF's desire to push Chinese evangelicals to ever-greater lengths and efficacy in evangelism.

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649 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July 1985).
650 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (August 1985).
651 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (June 1986).

Tours of the PRC by OMF members also produced longings to see Chinese led evangelism directed toward the "frontiers" once inhabited by CIM missionaries. As OMF missionaries visited the PRC in the 1980s, their tours produced accounts of areas or ethnic groups underserved by Chinese evangelism. Prayer requests featured numerous exhortations for the Chinese to take up witness to Hui Muslims across China or to remote regions in Inner Mongolia and Tibet.[652] Visits to Sichuan, Guizhou, and Yunnan in the late 1980s led the OMF to call for the establishment of the missions to the nation's "Mountain people." Through these tours, OMF spokesmen cemented the idea that despite Christianity's revival, large regions and demographics remained "unevangelized" inside the PRC, particularly China's minority populations. Transferring that sense of obligation to carry evangelism to the extents of the nation's borders and across racial barriers to Chinese evangelicals through prayerful intercession became a prime motivation in the OMF's China Program.

By the late 1980s there were a number of evangelism networks inside the PRC that gave the OMF hope for Christianity's penetration of the "frontier." In 1984 the Pray For China Fellowship discovered groups heading from Hebei to Tibet and Shandong to Xinjiang, they responded, "Praise the Lord! Believers in mainland China are spreading the gospel across the border lines of provinces."[653] The churches of Henan were seen as especially robust evangelists and credited by the OMF with sending agents to Tibet, Xinjiang, and Heilongjiang.[654]

The OMF's hopes were primarily invested rested in Han Chinese to take up "pioneer work." For instance, one of the first OMF member's to visit Xinjiang reported

652 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (October 1984).
653 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (October 1984).
654 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (September 1987).

that no churches existed amongst the minority Uighurs or Kazakahs, and called the Uighurs "one of the largest unreached today," prompting the OMF to begin providing Christian literature in Uighur. But ultimately though the OMF's desire to take the gospel to Uighurs and Kazakahs lay in inspiring Han Chinese to do so. The Pray for China Fellowship asked groups to hope that "Han Chinese Christians in Xinjiang will catch the vision to share the Gospel with their Muslim neighbors, despite formidable cultural, religious, and political barriers."[655] And by 1985 the OMF Prayer Directory advertised that "67 million minorities occupy more than 50% of China's land," and "Christian Han Chinese living among them have difficult but strategic opportunity to reach them for Christ."[656]

While such hopes continued to create a dichotomy between Han Chinese as equals and partners of the international evangelical community and minority groups associated with the frontier, the OMF also praised a number of minorities for leading cross-border and inter-ethnic evangelism in the south and west. Maps produced by the Pray For China Fellowship showed Lisu groups evangelizing Burma and North Thailand, Yi traveling to Sichuan and Guizhou, Miao proselytizing in Guangxi and Guizhou, Zhuang moving across Guangxi to Yunnan, where they were joined by Tibetans. The OMF pointed to the expansive evangelism of these minorities as signs of their equality and leadership. In other cases, OMF supporters prayed for exiled Christian Tibetans in India and Nepal who were reportedly sending missionaries back to the PRC.[657] Beyond fulfilling the OMF's aspirations, these movements gave a sense that the OMF's

[655]Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (November 1984).
[656] Overseas Missionary Fellowship, *Prayer Directory*, (March 1985).
[657] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (August 1985).

pioneering ethos had left a lasting legacy on underground Christianity and the minority populations of the PRC.

Lastly, OMF prayers for Chinese gave U.S. evangelicals the sense that the currents of Sino-American rapprochement such as cultural exchange favored Christianity's revival as mainland Chinese became increasingly mobile. That Chinese civilians, particularly professionals, intellectuals, and youth were taking part in exchanges with western countries gave the OMF great hope that new points of contact for outreach were being forged inside and outside of China. The OMF rallied evangelicals to outreach with declarations that "China's Best are Here!"[658] To capitalize on these opportunities the OMF opened ministries targeting international students in the cities of Dallas, Pasadena, and Portland.

The society also promoted a greater sense of responsibility amongst all evangelicals to play a role in missions by proselytizing to Chinese traveling abroad. Inspired in part by the house churches, OMF prayer conferences and deputation workers followed the goal of getting "every Christian involved in missions." OMF textbooks such as "A Mini-Conferette in Your home? Involvement in Asia at Home," encouraged Christians to hold their own prayer meetings with friends and family on behalf of missions with guidelines on how to pray for missionaries, along with recipes for Malaysian curry. Increasingly, the ways in which the OMF asked white evangelicals to participate in missions went beyond the traditional emphasis on prayerful intercession by encouraging Christians to act as missionaries by befriending Asians inside the U.S. and opening their homes.

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[658] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (March/April 1987).

Inside the PRC, reform and modernization were seen as increasing the mobility of average civilians and bringing them into greater contact with outside influences. The Pray for China Fellowship noted that in areas like Wuxi county many generations of peasant families had lived and died in the same village, but now they were chasing new opportunities in cities and far off regions and forming travel agencies. By the mid-1980s the OMF was reporting that China's campaigns had created rising incomes and consumer affluence for millions of citizens. Along with these changes went rising expectations and desires, framed by the OMF as Chinese dreams of "bicycles today, but motorbikes tomorrow," that spoke to their increasing socially and technologically mobile lifestyles.[659]

In rural areas, the OMF saw market reforms as freeing up the Chinese Christian for itinerating. In the fall of 1985, the OMF noted "the government's free market policies now allow farmers to travel to different areas for buying and selling," potentially allowing Christianity's strong rural base greater freedom to travel simultaneously as evangelists. The society encouraged its members to pray for these reforms and hoped that they would rural Christians could use commerce to "speedily" evangelize.[660] In another example, the OMF pointed to urbanization as strengthening the relations between urban and rural congregations.[661] Amidst all these socio-economic changes, the OMF asked that "as people move around China in greater numbers, pray that Christians amongst them may 'gossip the Gospel' to those who have not had the chance of hearing in their isolated villages."[662]

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[659] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (September 1985).
[660] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (December 1985).
[661] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July/August 1987).
[662] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin*, (April 1985).

Even the Chinese government's policies and attitudes toward minority groups were viewed positively by the OMF since they seemed to make these groups more accessible to evangelists by promoting assimilation. Greater opportunities for minority populations to study at universities in cities like Beijing were promoted as opportunities for Han Chinese Christians and foreign Christians to have fellowship.[663] But the most important reform concerned the CCP's promotion of the use of Mandarin among ethnic minorities. While these policies were met with resistance from groups in areas such as Tibet and Xinjiang as attacks on the religions of Buddhism, Islam, and ethnic identities, the OMF praised the campaign proclaiming "The Gospel Benefits from a Unified Language."[664] A unified language would allow the nation to avoid the costs of translating pamphlets and bibles into the numerous minority languages and Mandarin's spread among minorities would thus greatly increase the society's witness in these regions. As the OMF became aware of separatist movements in regions such as Tibet inside the PRC in the late 1980s, the society asked evangelicals to pray "true unity may be restored between Tibetans and Han Chinese."[665] While protective of the religious rights of Chinese Christians, the OMF supported the CCP claims to maintaining the bounds of imperial China by forging political unity and cultural integration against the religious rights of non-Christian minority groups.

However, a form of Chinese mobility that troubled the OMF was the idea of "brain drain." Media reports in the late 1980s suggesting that a majority of Chinese youth and professionals sent overseas after 1978 had not returned to their motherland. Such an outflow troubled the OMF since ideally converted elites would return to advance

663 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (August 1985).
664 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (March 1986).
665 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (May 1988).

evangelism and elevate Christianity's status.[666] These fears were heightened by similar reports that many doctors, lawyers, and business executives in Hong Kong planned to emigrate in response to the city's handover to Chinese authorities.[667] The OMF created prayers especially for Chinese participating in exchange programs or studying in western countries would return to positions of authority and influence.[668] The OMF asked evangelicals to "pray God will raise up those willing to stay…to face privation and even persecution by staying in China to lead the church."[669]

The issue of "brain drain" was connected to OMF concerns that Chinese Christians would be less willing to make material and professional sacrifices to advance the Gospel in the future. Pointing to rising per capita incomes, the society warned "as Christians get richer their love for God may decrease."[670] Such concerns spoke to the OMF's theories that the basis for Chinese Christianity's revival was its purification by trial since the 1950s. Other prominent mission spokesmen such as David Wang of Asian Outreach espoused this theory as well. He argued that, "The church in China is stronger than many churches in the free world because of her struggle and suffering."[671] Thus, increasing social and religious freedom were a potential boon to evangelization, but materialism and affluence raised concerns that the Chinese Christian's missionary zeal would wane in the coming years. And OMF publications lamented the rising

[666] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (February 1987).
[667] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (September 1987).
[668]Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (March 1985).
[669] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (March 1989).
[670] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (May 1985).
[671]Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July 1985).

consumerism in Chinese society and the yawning gap between the "haves" and "have-nots" in many areas.[672]

The sense that Chinese rural women were among the "have-nots," left outside the increasingly mobile classes in the PRC, drew many prayers from the OMF. The OMF advertised that women comprised as much as 80% of the church's membership in many areas, especially in underground congregations. In returning to mainland China, the OMF revived its campaigns against Chinese women being "enslaved by feudal ideology" that kept them confined to the home and deprived of education. The OMF asked evangelicals to intercede through prayer on behalf of women, to make sure that reforms and modernization improved their lives and liberated them from these constraints.[673]

The goal of mobilizing Chinese evangelicals inside and outside the PRC shaped the OMF China Program in a number of ways. With a dearth of Chinese members in the 1980s, the society adjusted resources and outreach to focus more on Chinese churches and students in the U.S. and pockets of Chinese evangelicals, such as in Hong Kong for recruiting and promoting the missionary ideology. Secondly, the OMF built respect for Chinese spiritual sovereignty by creating the sense that Chinese evangelicals, both overseas and citizens of the PRC, were a dynamic and potentially revolutionary force within the world of missions. In part, this image was produced by China's modernizations and reforms. OMF agents witnessed the transnational flows of Chinese leaving and entering the PRC and improving socio-economic conditions inside the nation as harbingers of greater and greater opportunity for evangelism.

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[672]Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (September 1985).
[673]Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (May 1986).

The OMF's prayers and fellowship revealed the evangelical's desire to harness and direct the transnational flows of Chinese mobility to fulfill the society's traditional ambitions in China. In this era, the OMF and its supporters employed prayer to direct Chinese evangelicals to adopt the missionary vision and ambitions of the OMF by willing them to China's boundaries in Mongolia or amongst minority groups such as the Lisu in Yunnan. This included willing Chinese Christians to resist restrictions on propagating the faith publically, as well as the temptations of affluence or lure of remaining abroad. In this sense, the OMF's prayers against "brain drain" revealed then the society's fears that Chinese evangelicals would shirk their racial right to lead the PRC's evangelization. With their own role as catalysts, impelling Chinese Christians to become missionaries and directing their movements through prayer and discipleship training, white evangelicals still understood their own mobility as the catalyst behind missions to the PRC.

However, the OMF's China Program periodically flagged in confidence in the authority of house churches and the emphasis on aid and discipleship training spoke to paternalistic attitudes toward Chinese evangelicals. There were numerous aspects of the "underground" Christian revival that the OMF found worrisome as well. Thus, while noting the "strength" and zeal for evangelism of Chinese Christians, OMF publications also still on occasion referred to churches in Shandong as "scripturally hungry, very weak."[674] These "weaknesses" included a number of fears based on class and race concerning Chinese spiritual sovereignty. Firstly, many independent Chinese evangelical movements openly rejected western theology or the emphasis on official training and education for clergy and leadership. As Lian Xi has shown, a fundamental characteristic

[674] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (November 1988).

of many underground Protestant Christian groups in China was their rejection of "formal theological education as mere human contrivance and therefore devoid of divine sanction."[675] At various points throughout the 1980s the OMF's anxieties over these currents within underground Christianity were expressed in prayers concerned that underground Christianity featured a faith that was too "simplistic" or was prone to heresy. Correspondence from the OMF China Program noted the society's fears that "false teachers" were rampant throughout the house-churches. OMF publications noted "a problem in rural churches is the inability of some to separate Christianity from rural superstitions. Even Christians of many years get confused."[676]

Secondly, many of these groups and evangelists such as the Shouters (Huhanpai) featured intense emotional displays of spirituality evident in dancing, prophesy, faith healing, or exorcisms that were suspect in the eyes of the OMF. Concerns about Christianity becoming tainted by the "superstitions" of Chinese continued to suffuse the mission as the Pray for China Fellowship warned, "sorcerers and wizards" were still active and influential in certain areas.[677] In this respect, the OMF efforts at discipleship training through radio ministry and distribution of foreign publications reflected fears about the doctrinal integrity of Christianity. The society's programs for training clergy and lay leaders and providing bible study were important, the OMF argued, because "if Christians mix their beliefs with superstitions, how much more will those who hear the Gospel without any previous knowledge of Christianity be muddled in their thinking."[678]

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[675] Lian Xi, *Redeemed By Fire*: *The Rise of Popular Christianity,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010): p. 206.
[676] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (February 1987).
[677] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (May 1987).
[678] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (February 1987).

The OMF tried to use discipleship training through radio and literature as a means to both aid underground Christianity but also to rehabilitate Chinese evangelicals.

Recognition that Christianity thrived amongst some of the nation's poorest and least educated groups contributed to the OMF's desire to "strengthen" Chinese congregations. Fears about widespread illiteracy among Chinese Christians also contributed to the OMF's support for the CCP's campaigns in modernization. Prayers for expanding mass education in rural areas reminded OMF followers, "Spiritual literate leadership is critically important if the Church is to be scriptural in faith and practice."[679] By funneling literature and radio programs from outside China to these communities the society hoped to influence beliefs. This was made even more problematic by the racial tropes about Chinese found within materials stressing the need for discipleship training programs for Chinese evangelicals. For example, an OMF slideshow produced by the society's Disciple Training Center used by deputation speakers and representatives in the U.S. justified the society's efforts at training Chinese Christians by featuring depictions of two Chinese pastors described by an OMF agent as "ignorant, boring, and totally inept," and even "lecherous" in their lustful "eyeing" of young women. In the slideshow's script, the OMF warned that such "uneducated" Christians would fail to craft messages that could win elites and college youth in Asia.[680]

However, there were also a number of signs that the OMF's respect for and commitment to Chinese spiritual sovereignty was greater than in decades past. While the concept of prayerful intercession was still infused by a militant mentality to evangelize China, the society also counseled against using prayer in ways that would undermine the

[679] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (January 1985).
[680] Letter to Howard Phukett, Discipleship Training Center, from George Kraft, January 24, 1976.

authority of Chinese Christians. The OMF produced a number of new books and materials guiding evangelicals in their use of prayer to advance the gospel in the PRC including *Prayer Power Unlimited, Born for Battle,* and *God's Powerful Weapon*. These titles contributed to the OMF supporters' sense of contribution and involvement in shaping normalization to aid Chinese Christians and the missionary movement. These books employed the concept of "saturation praying" with the idea that through prayer "we share, unite, and zero in on the target with specific and full coverage."[681] However, accounts of OMF members in the 1980s publicized the fact that certain leading Chinese Protestants, such as Professor Suen Hanxu of the Nanjing Theological Seminary, warned that even prayer could be a "form of enmity" if western churches and Christians continued to think of Chinese Christianity as "sick." Relaying such statements to evangelicals outside the PRC, the OMF intended to avoid prayerful intercession based upon the idea of "rescuing" Chinese Christianity.

The OMF's greater respect for Chinese spiritual sovereignty was most evident in the constant allusions made by the society and its members to learning from the "strength" or "vitality" of Chinese Christianity. In fact, contacts with Chinese Christianity in the PRC produced scathing critiques of evangelicals and churches in the West. The OMF contrasted the vibrancy of churches in areas like Shaanxi with "the deadness of the western church" and held up their unity against the divisions and arguments dividing Christians in countries like the U.S. [682] At other times the Pray for China Fellowship complained of the "surfeit of Christian literature, tapes, seminars and every kind of aid" used to promote Christianity and infatuation "with finance and big

[681] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (August 1985).
[682] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (February 1989).

programs" in western countries.[683] These critiques reinforced the OMF's belief that in re-establishing ties to the PRC the international community was not only aiding Chinese Christianity but came to mainland China to "learn" from Chinese evangelicals, and OMF publications spoke of evangelicals traveling to the PRC being "revolutionized" in their faith through contact with house churches.[684]

"Secondary Roles": China Watching, Tourism, and Human Rights

There were also a number of secondary roles open to white evangelicals to be involved in missions to China that the OMF pitched as respectful of Chinese sovereignty. Organizations like OMF referred to white American evangelicals as a "helper in the background with a low profile," and argued their role would be to provide "education" for Chinese in "theological grounding" and "insight into the techniques and means of communication."[685] Within the U.S. the OMF helped establish a consensus among Protestant evangelicals on the types of activities acceptable for white evangelicals. For example, OMF representatives such as Prayer Secretary Maurine Flowers, Midwest Regional Secretary Will Bruce, and USA Home Director Ernest E. Heimbach attended and participated in the Evangelical China Consultation held at Chinese Christian Union Church in Chicago in 1975.

The evangelicals at the meeting recommended a number of ways for non-Chinese evangelicals to contribute to Christianity's expansion in China. Beyond prayerful intercession, the activities included research on mainland and overseas Chinese groups, conducting regional seminars and producing periodicals on missiology to Chinese, and

[683]Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July/August 1987).
[684] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (September 1984).
[685] Hudson Taylor, III, "What Does China Mean to an American Evangelical Today," OMF Home Council Papers, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

direct ministry to groups from China traveling and living outside the mainland, particularly students and immigrants. Lastly, conference panels and discussions embraced the goal of sending Christian professionals and tourists as a form of Christian witness and source of critical information about the churches and status of Christianity.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s many of these activities defined the OMF's China Program and resumption of mission work in the PRC as a "creative access nation." The OMF initiated a number of projects imagined as forms of aid to Chinese Christianity via radio, literature, and research. Since the 1950s, the OMF had partnered with the Far East Broadcasting Company to beam Christian programming to the PRC. Building on the partnership, the society devoted more resources to broadcasting Christian radio programming and a new partnership was established with Trans World Radio. By the mid-1980s, OMF programs were sent daily to the PRC from radio towers in Manila, Okinawa, Saipan, and Jeju. For non-Christians, the OMF began programming described as "pre-evangelistic" in both Mandarin and Cantonese designed to attract interested listeners, and laying the groundwork for understanding Christian theology. Already by 1979, the Far East Broadcasting Company's radio waves were powerful enough to penetrate China's borders and reach listeners in Xinjiang, Mongolia, and Manchuria.

The society's role in China watching was expanded through a partnership with Christian Communications Limited in Hong Kong. Together the two organizations built a research institute on Chinese Christianity, the Chinese Church Research Center (CRCC). The CRCC collected newspapers, magazines, and books from mainland China and the rest of East Asia to facilitate research on and evangelism to Chinese. CRCC staff members also interviewed refugees from the mainland and other migrants to keep abreast

of changing social and political conditions inside China. In addition, the organization held study groups in the Hong Kong area to prepare Chinese evangelists for work in the PRC and developed Christian literature geared specifically to individuals born and raised in a communist society. Lastly, in the 1980s the CRCC produced a series of pamphlets for attracting Chinese converts that were used by the OMF and its supporters in the U.S. and the PRC.

Radio and literature were increasingly critical to the OMF's attempts to aid Chinese Christians and engage in discipleship training. Labeling the lack of Christian literature in the PRC a spiritual "famine," the OMF offices in Hong Kong and Theodere Hsueh of the Christian Communications Limited the society sent Christian training materials and pastoral bible kits to mainland Chinese churches.[686] By 1985 the OMF was sending thousands of study sets to Chinese pastors a year, and by the end of the decade the Christian Communications Ltd. sent over 250,000 books and pamphlets, 90,000 tracts, 9,000 bibles, and over 41,000 bible study sets to mainland Christians.[687] And while the OMF still used radio to attract converts with the "Golden Age Radio Hour," partnerships with Trans World Radio and the Far East Broadcasting Company allowed the OMF to sponsor and produce programs like "The Truth We Believe," to provide spiritual training for existing believers and clergy.

Outside of mobilizing Chinese evangelicals, the OMF played a more direct role in missions to China by capitalizing on tourism to further its activities in China watching. In 1979, OMF senior leadership selected David Adeney to lead the OMF's China Program in the U.S. Adeney had been an active voice in a number of fora in North America on the

[686] Letter from David Adeney to OMF USA Home Council, July 28 1980.
[687] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (January 1985); Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (November 1988).

prospect of the missionary's return to China and one of the first OMF members to gain entry to the country in 1978. He returned from this first visit convinced of Christianity's survival and hopeful of its revival. In setting the agenda for the OMF's China Program, Adeney argued that the "greatest need is to understand what is going on in China and pray for intercession." Based upon his own visits to China in the 1970s and 1980s and the OMF communications with Chinese churches, Christian professionals, and travelers in China, Adeney developed a China Awareness Seminar for evangelicals outside the PRC.

The China Awareness Seminars educated Christians on the topics deemed critical to understanding the PRC and Chinese Christianity, but also trained interested travelers in using tourism to advance the gospel. The seminars were pitched as training "for those wanting to get involved in evangelizing to Chinese," and provided information on a number of topics.The basic core of the presentations included topics such as: the History of Christianity in China, Chinese Communism and China's Religious Policy, The Development of the Chinese Church under Communism, and A Biblical Basis for Witness in a Totalitarian Society.[688] An intensive study course, the China Awareness Seminar handbook was over 150 pages long, went through several editions, and was supplemented by numerous pamphlets, audiovisual materials, and films. Along with the seminars, the Pray for China Fellowship promoted awareness of relations between Chinese Christians and the state by recounting the travels of Christian tourists and expatriates, and reproducing letters from Chinese evangelicals inside the PRC.

[688] Pamphlet for China Awareness Seminar from Chinese World Mission Center, OMF Home Council Papers, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

During the 1980s, Adeney and the China Awareness Seminars were a popular part of the OMF China Program's outreach across the U.S. as well as internationally. Inside the U.S., Adeney and various members of the OMF China Program held China Awareness Seminars throughout the 1980s in cities such as Boston, Pasadena, Seattle, Palo Alto, Davis, San Francisco, Chicago, Indianapolis, Denver, Boulder, Philadelphia, Virginia Beach, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, and Houston. By the mid-1980s, the OMF China Program held similar functions in Australia, Canada, Scandinavia, Germany, New Zealand, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, Holland, and Hong Kong.[689]

The allure of the China Awareness Seminars for evangelicals was that the OMF promised glimpses of another "reality" that was not accessible to "the average visitor to China from overseas."[690] More than just "understanding" contemporary China, the OMF trained evangelicals on how to find the "real" China hidden behind facades created by the TSPM, CCP, and even western media. Adeney accused foreign guests praising the CCP's achievements with creating "a picture of the mythological China, failing to perceive the real China in which there is still a great mass of suffering and confusion."[691] But while the China Awareness Seminars taught Christians to see and find oppression in the PRC, the OMF also hoped to reveal the "hidden church" not accessible to most travelers and foreign visitors to the PRC. Beyond the TSPM and pathways of most tourism routes, the

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689 The China Awareness Seminars and Adeney were also popular guests at the Chinese World Mission Center (CWMC). The CWMC shared the OMF's desire to mobilize Chinese evangelicals in North America, most especially youth, for evangelism in China. Like the OMF the organization recruited Christian professionals and English teachers for service in China and created its own network of prayer supporters known as the "Watchman prayer warriors." While heading up the OMF's China Program in North America, the CWMC loaned Adeney an office within their Institute of Chinese Studies for his work, and, in return, he offered his services as a "consultant" to their program and held China Awareness Seminars on their campus. Letter from David Adeney to OMF USA Home Council, July 28 1980.; Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (August 1981).

690 David Adeney, "Christianity and Communism Today," *East Asia Millions,* (June/July 1979).

691 David Adeney, "Christianity and Communism Today," *East Asia Millions,* (June/July 1979).

OMF China program alerted Christian evangelicals to a "vibrant spiritual life found in many country churches" where many itinerant evangelists and bands "risk their own liberty in order to take the Gospel to unevangelized areas."[692]

Adeney and the OMF were far from alone in arguing that there was another side to China not available to groups following the itineraries set by the China International Travel Service (CITS), the official governmental body responsible for directing the travel of foreign guests in the PRC. In the 1970s and 1980s numerous American travelers and journalists pointed to the circumstances of travel in the PRC as barriers to "knowing" the "real" China or Chinese. The use of group tours and people-to-people exchange groups, limitations on the number of visas approved, the relatively low number of Chinese cities open to tourism, the necessity of travel with Chinese tour guides and interpreters, and the pre-eminence of the CITS in approving itineraries were all criticized by various writers as hindering the ability of foreigners to see the "real" China. Many Americans criticized the lack of direct contact with "ordinary citizens," chafed at traveling in large groups, and especially resented the constant oversight of "minders," official guides and government agents seemingly obsessive about accompanying travelers at all times.[693]

These conditions produced growing resentment among Europeans and Americans guests with the circumstances of travel. In some cases groups expressed boredom or disappointment with group tours. The *Washington Post's* headlines mocked "Just Like A

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[692] David Adeney, "Amazing Changes," *East Asia Millions*, (March/April 1987).

[693] While the movement toward mass tourism was still underway in the 1980s, representatives of the CCP or CITS stressed the practical necessities behind these issues. Visitors were categorized into different groups to ensure that non-Chinese foreigners enjoyed the very best tourist facilities available—hotels, transportation, and bilingual tour guides—all of which the nation's still burgeoning tourism industry had in limited supply. This too limited the number of cities open to these travelers. There was also the issue of language. CITS agents argued that guests knowing no Mandarin would encounter numerous difficulties in cites unaccustomed to foreigners, and there were simply far too few guides and translators to meet this demand. Honggen Xiao, "The Discourse of Power: Deng Xiaoping and Tourism Development in China," *Tourism Management*, Vol. 27, No. 5, (Oct. 2006): p. 803-814

Class Trip: China, With All the Predictability of a Class Excursion," and "The Package Deal is Predictable—But What Did You Expect?"[694] Another effect, according to scholars like Tim Oakes, was for travelers to arrive in China on a "quest of debunking the tourist traps thrown at them and somehow maneuvering behind the veil to discover the real China."[695] In helping to find the "real" Chinese Christianity, or China off the script of the CITS, or outside the major cities, the OMF satiated critical desires for many Americans.

These ideas about a "real" and "fake" China sustained American Cold War suspicions about the CCP's manipulation of tourism and diplomatic exchanges. Foreign guests like Adeney suggested that the limits and restrictions on the tours showed the CCP's intent to obscure the foreigner's vision and direct contact with "real" Chinese. Such criticisms had been leveled at the CCP throughout the Cold War. For instance, in April of 1960 the Committee on House Un-American Activities Commission (HUAC) published an account of its hearings on tourism and foreign dignitaries in China entitled "How the Chinese Reds Hoodwink Visiting Foreigners." In this report, a Chinese émigré to the U.S., Robert Loh, testified that the Chinese Communist Party created "showcase" cities, homes, and even religious services which were atypical in Chinese society in order to deceive foreign guests. One consequence of this "deception," according to Loh, was that the CCP was able to hide severe persecution of religious groups such Buddhists, Catholics, and Protestant Christians from the international community.[696]

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[694]Jane Morse, "Just Like A Class Trip: China, With All the Predictability of a Class Excursion," *Washington Post,* October 2 1977, p147.
[695] Tim Oakes, *Tourism and Modernity in China*, (New York: Routledge Press, 1998), p.2.
[696] U.S. Congress, House Committee on Un-American Activities, "How the Chinese Reds Hoodwink Visiting Foreigners: Consultation with Robert Loh," Eighty-Six Congress, Second Session, (Washington, U.S. April 21, 1960)

By disseminating these images Loh and HUAC charged foreign guests and dignitaries such as President Sukarno of Indonesia and the Dali Lama of being no more than pawns of the CCP. Loh suggested that through manipulating foreign dignitaries the CCP was able to mislead the international community about Chinese society. Hugh Trevor, Professor of Modern History at Oxford University, leveled similar accusations following his tour in 1965 with the Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding. Trevor claimed that on his tour he encountered Chinese guides intent on keeping him from any "intelligent contact" with civilians and spent most of his time being "drenched daily with identical tabloid propaganda adapted to the minds of peasant children." Such accounts left many travelers fearing the CCP's total control and manipulation of tourism for its own ends.

Similarly, Protestant evangelicals roundly criticized delegations of Christian clergy representing national church organizations in the U.S., Canada, Great Britain and the World Council of Churches visiting China from the 1950s through the 1970s. These groups were also condemned for painting a false image of religious tolerance and freedom enjoyed by Chinese Christians. Prominent OMF spokesman Leslie Lyall referred to an Australian delegation of Protestant Christians visiting the PRC in 1959 as "hoodwinked" in much the same fashion as Loh had said Sukarno had been by the CCP.[697]

In the 1970s and 1980s as international media and Christian delegations spoke of greater religious liberty in the PRC, the OMF rallied evangelicals to contain this "misinformation" through prayer. For example, the May 1984 edition of *Pray for China*

[697] Leslie Lyall, *Confrontation: Christianity in Communist China-Red Sky at Night* (Moody Press, 1969): p. 34.

reported on upcoming travels by delegations from the TSPM and CCC led by Bishop Ding to Australia and New Zealand with the note, "May these visits not be used to cloud the real situation of the Church in China." In February 1989 the Pray for China Fellowship warned "an increasing number of books on the church in China published by Western Christian visitors to China deal very superficially with the situation, denying any governmental control of the churches."[698] The society was also adamantly opposed to journalists or Christians from the west who were effusive in their praise for the CCP or life in the PRC.

By misleading the international community, the OMF charged, these groups were leaving the Chinese people, especially Christians, devoid of spiritual support from the international community. During his own journeys, Adeney told the OMF's followers that "A Chinese university professor, who has now left China, told me that his friends cursed the American visitors whose glowing reports of the 'New China' were translated from English and published in Peking newspapers." Conversely, traveling to China was not just about restoring fellowship for evangelicals' it was also about seeing firsthand the persecution felt by Chinese Christians. As one visitor wrote in 1981, western Christians had "heard" of the "wound" inflicted upon Christians in the 1950s and 1960s, but after visiting the PRC many had now "seen and touched it."[699]

Alternatively, the OMF intended to use travel as a means to focus the attention of the international community on the continued abuse of Chinese Christians and invoked the sense that their accounts gave voice to the people "hidden" behind the scripted tours of official delegations. The OMF and its supporters traveling to China for then became a

[698] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (February 1989).
[699] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (January/February 1982).

contest over the "truth" about Christianity in the PRC. The OMF trained individual evangelicals to participate in revealing the "truth" about China through their own travels, and, in return, a steady stream of evangelicals going to and from the PRC kept the society informed on the relations between Christianity and the state across the country. Armed with cassette players and tape recorders by the OMF's China Program, Christians traveled to document the experiences of Chinese evangelicals, as part of the OMF's campaign to reveal the "truth" of the church's situation in society.

From these accounts and correspondence with Chinese evangelicals, the OMF's China Program endeavored to balance out reports of the CCP's achievements in modernization or growing tolerance of religion by focusing on its human rights record in a number of ways. First, the society hoped to "give voice" to hundreds of Chinese Christians who suffered persecution during the 1950s and 1960s, especially cataloging their trials during the Cultural Revolution. Further, OMF publications called attentions to pastors and clergy jailed in the 1950s or 1960s who remained in prison long after China's "opening up."

Secondly, the OMF called attention to a wide range of Chinese Christian groups that suffered harassment, detention, or surveillance by governmental authorities. The OMF regularly reported on closures of house churches ordered by either the government or the TSPM, and the detention of evangelists and pastors. At several points in the 1980s, the Pray for China Fellowship warned several times that religious toleration and freedom was in danger. Rallying evangelicals to pray for the defense of the house church's independence, the OMF drew attention to the detention of such leaders as Xu Yongze, leader of numerous churches in Central and North China, and Lin Xianggao of

the Damazhan church in Guangzhou. And in the fall of 1987, the Fellowship decried the arrests of Christians in Hebei, Shanxi, Jiangsu, and across Central China.[700]

Lastly, the OMF rallied evangelicals to engage in China watching to call attention to the constraints placed upon the Chinese evangelical's lack of rights that denied them a mobility needed to propagate and express their faith. On an institutional level, the OMF monitored the TSPM's reopening of churches, seminaries, and publishing operations, calling attention to the limited number of venues available to Christians for worship, training, and education and pushing for their expansion. The society was also vociferously critical of the lack of a right to Christians to offer many forms of religious education, especially for youth. [701] Conversely, no rights were more important to the OMF than the limits on the Chinese evangelical's right to promote engage in evangelism. As a result, the society was especially critical of regulations limiting Chinese Protestants to "non-organized forms" of evangelism confined to church properties and their immediate neighborhoods.[702] In the late 1980s, the OMF highlighted new regulations in Guangzhou, Henan, Anhui, Shandong, and Sichuan that denied non-registered Christians, those not officially members of TSPM churches, the right to engage in evangelism and itinerations across cities and provinces. [703] The overarching agenda of the OMF was to rally evangelicals to pressure the CCP into granting broad religious rights to Chinese evangelicals such as allowing for "wide and unhindered gospel proclamation" and to

[700] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (November 1987).
[701] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (October 1984).
[702] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (October 1981).
[703] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (November 1987).; Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July/August 1988).

resist any law which "confined" evangelism or evangelicals to "mud and brick buildings."[704]

A second critical issue to the OMF was discrimination felt by Chinese Christians in their lack of social mobility. Various reports from the OMF referenced the experiences of Christians denied educational or career opportunities seemingly because of their faith. Letters to the Pray for China Fellowship even recounted stories of Christians within the CCP or political institutions being expelled and reduced to menial labor.[705] Open hostility to Chinese Christians was evident in many areas and not just from the party. In society, the OMF claimed non-Christians often mocked Chinese Christian for their beliefs, and knowledge of their faith caused them to suffer social isolation. The lack of the Christian's social mobility was seen by the OMF as a critical obstacle to reaching society's youth. Although the OMF saw evidence that "more and more college students turning to Christ," the "costs of Christianity" to their professional and social ambitions forced many to avoid public fellowship or declarations of faith.[706] As long as such problems existed, the OMF believed Christianity's place in society would be tenuous, and its reach with elites and professional classes would continually suffer from the religion's association with stigmatization as "superstition" and among the nation's less educated.

Thus, while the OMF espoused respect for the limits placed upon foreign missions in the PRC, the society intended to exploit tourism to expose the discrimination of Chinese Christians and rally the international evangelical community to their defense.

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[704] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (November 1983).; Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (November 1983); Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (October 1984).
[705] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (April 1986); Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July/August 1987).
[706] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July/August 1987).

Through activities like the China Awareness Seminars, the OMF played upon the familiar ideas of a "real" and "fake" China, and trained many Christian travelers how to move "behind the veil" of scripted tours by the CITS or contacts with the TSPM. By "giving voice" to past and current suffering experienced by Chinese Christians the OMF used opportunities created by rapprochement to keep Sino-American normalization focused on religion. Travel became a means for foreign evangelicals to advocate for greater religious tolerance and freedom for Chinese Christians in the PRC by attempting to bypass the "artifice" of official tours and relations with the TSPM and forge contacts with the house churches. Though the OMF promoted respect for Chinese spiritual sovereignty and the right of Chinese to lead evangelism in the PRC, the society's acceptance of these positions was balanced by efforts to expand the Chinese Christian's mobility and rights to propagate the faith. In this particular dimension of the OMF's China Program, the mission resisted the constraints placed upon foreign travelers and reasserted the idea of the foreigner's freedom of access to all of Chinese civilization.

Evangelism and the Four Modernizations

Beyond China watching, by the early 1980s the OMF publicized a number of ways to exploit the developing networks of tourism and exchange between the U.S. and China to create opportunities to engage more directly in evangelism and "strengthening" the Chinese church. In the early 1970s, the OMF argued that missionary work for white evangelicals was only a "distant possibility" in the PRC, but counseled that in the future they could return to the PRC as "teaching elders." Later in the decade, OMF spokesman Lyall predicted that in the near future, "China may one day welcome foreign lecturers, scientists, medical personnel, English teachers, musicians, artists, and research students

as well as businessmen," which would allow the OMF and other agencies to send white evangelicals from the U.S., Canada, and Europe back to China in an unofficial capacity. By the 1980s, following Deng Xiaoping's rise to power the launching of reforms meant to achieve the Four Modernizations in the fields of national defense, agriculture, industry, and science and technology such opportunities existed with increasing regularity, and the society promoted their use by evangelicals.

Through travel and cultural exchange, the OMF sent travelers, students, and professionals to the PRC armed with Christian literature to distribute and hopes to connect with Christians from house churches.[707] While the OMF reiterated that there was "no room" for missionaries, there were ever more opportunities for thousands of teachers, scientists, and engineers to live and work in China while representing Christianity through their personal lives.[708] With promotional materials like "Christian Professionals Think China," the OMF advertised the various professions, sectors of the economy, and regions open to foreign experts and investment in the PRC. Similarly, China Awareness Seminars offered training in practices of evangelism suitable for the PRC.[709] In addition, the society encouraged Christian businessmen to participate by referring to trade and foreign investment as "good boats" for the Christian message to travel on to enter the PRC.[710] A second critical agenda of the OMF's "creative access" missionary work was the CCP itself. Through these various avenues to the PRC the OMF urged evangelicals to both advance the gospel but also contribute to the "economic betterment" of the nation.[711]

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[707] Overseas Missionary Fellowship, *Prayer Directory,* (March 1985).
[708] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (February 1984).
[709] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (March 1988).
[710] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (March 1984).
[711] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (March 1985).

More directly, the OMF organized a small number of exchange programs in the 1980s. By 1980, the OMF was already connected to Christian English teachers living in six different Chinese cities. The mission also facilitated professional exchange tours in the 1980s, for example, connecting Christian doctors and health administrators from the U.S. with health authorities in Shanghai. For college age evangelicals, the OMF offered study abroad opportunities at Xiamen University in Fujian and at Teacher's University in Qinghai. In other cases, the OMF served as a referral service for U.S. evangelicals putting them in touch with opportunities for service as Christian professionals with allies like Martha Chan and the Christian Service for China, the Amity Foundation to work as teachers in Jiangsu province, and also offered its assistance in enrolling interested U.S. evangelicals at other universities across China.[712]

Within these currents of China's opening up, the OMF promoted the use of "discreet" evangelism to advance the gospel and aid Chinese Christians. More than just promoting these activities, the OMF trained evangelicals in the techniques of "discreet" evangelism using professional or travel opportunities without antagonizing the government and society. The OMF's various activities were devised to avoid the risks, in Adeney's words, of the more "sensational promotional drives of some Caucasian groups." Similarly, the Pray For China Fellowship promoted the idea that through the OMF, foreign experts and exchange groups could learn to evangelize in the PRC "in a humble and sensitive spirit" without "being insensitive" to the position of Chinese

[712] The society was unable to be directly connected as part of the exchange, but it was allowed to attach the Christian Medical Society as a sponsor for the trip. July 28 1980 letter

Christians and outlined forms of "discreet" witness that would not violate the bounds of this implicit agreement.[713]

While staying within the bounds of "appropriate" and "discreet" forms of evangelism, the OMF touted that Christian expatriates should win first the friendship and then later the hearts and minds of Chinese. The China Research Center encouraged Christians interested in evangelizing through tourism or exchange to study hermeneutics and books dealing with communist theory, but the organization was adamant that Chinese in the PRC would not be converted by philosophical arguments. It would not do well to approach Chinese through "stereotyped or confrontational witness," and aggressive, public forms of propagating Christianity were clearly unwise and provocative in the PRC. Rather, the OMF encouraged evangelicals to capitalize on general curiosity about the world outside China and the opportunities afforded travelers and expatriates for socialization with Chinese to use "friendship" as the means to spread the gospel.

Friendship as the key to evangelistic outreach informed the OMF's approach to Chinese intellectuals and scholars traveling abroad as well. Focused on American universities and college campuses, the OMF encouraged Christians to work with foreign student offices, campus churches, and groups like the Inter-Varsity Fellowship to provide game, film nights, and other social events for visiting Chinese. The OMF China Program also produced and distributed pamphlets educating evangelicals on how to use friendship such as *China at Your Doorstep: Christian Friendships with Mainland Chinese*.[714] And topics such as "Christian Friendships with Chinese" were featured in the China

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[713] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July 1981); Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (September 1985); Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (April 1986).
[714]Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (February 1988).

Awareness Seminars.[715]The key to winning the interest of Chinese intellectuals, Dick Andrews of the China Program argued, was to start with offering friendship and socialization. Only once a relationship had been started was it wise to approach these visitors with more "direct evangelism." Andrews also suggested it was best to avoid political discussion or any criticism of the PRC.

Befriending Chinese was both "discreet" and a far more effective form of evangelism, the OMF argued. Interest in the west, especially the keys to its modernity, and curiosity in the lives and habits of westerners would provide the Christian ample opportunities to "discreetly" evangelize to Chinese. There was no need for overt, evangelist techniques since conversations about life and societies outside China easily transitioned into an opening for the Christian to talk about faith. For example, OMF writers noted that Chinese curiosity about foreign holidays and customs eventually wound up at the topic of Christmas, an entry point for talking about Jesus Christ, without much effort on the part of Christians.[716]

Another element of winning friendship and "discreetly" evangelizing, the OMF claimed came simply by living "Christian lives." The majority of students attracted to Christianity, the OMF reported, had first noticed the "Christ-like lives of Christian teachers." Through these accounts, the OMF championed the idea that many in Chinese society had noticed the difference between foreign Christians and non-Christians. For instance, the OMF reported that the students of a Christian couple teaching in the PRC praised them for their friendliness and propriety, in contrast to a colleague's frequent drunkenness, irritability, and sexual advances. A similar story was told of a young tour

[715] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (March 1988).
[716] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (December 1984).

guide eager to learn of Christianity after noticing differences between Christian and non-Christian travelers.

Other than "being Christians," expatriates and travelers were advised to be as "Chinese" as possible in order to win the respect and openness of the people to the Christian message. Returning to the ethos of the society's founder, the China Research Center advised Christian tourists and expatriates to live the Chinese "lifestyle" and be "100% Chinese." Not surprisingly, mobility continued to be at the center of the OMF's ideas about identification and fellowship with Chinese. Martha Chan of the Chinese Church Research Center encouraged foreign evangelicals to "share the same kind of dishes in the snack shops or small restaurants," but also fundamentally to move as Chinese did, "we squeeze in the same jam-packed buses, we walk if we cannot get on a bus."[717] Moving as "Chinese" reaffirmed the OMF's traditional ethos of identifying with the people through mobility, and yet also reinforced the society's emphasis on demonstrating the foreign evangelical's willingness to make accommodations with the PRC.

Many of these notions about personal evangelism and friendship were taken as lessons drawn from the international Christian community from its renewed ties with the Chinese churches in the PRC. The OMF theorized that Chinese Christianity's resurrection had been forged through the simple methods of personal evangelism without the use of institutions, wealth, or public influence. Chinese Christians attracted converts with "quality of their lives," and their sacrificial lifestyle was their "powerful witness."[718] Through contacts with Chinese Christian, the OMF condemned aspects of Christianity in

[717] Martha Chan, "Christians in Rural Areas," *China Research Center*, (October/December 1981).
[718] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July/August 1987).

the West as over-civilized, bloated by its bureaucratic institutions and values, and "softened" by its material prosperity into a flabby faith.

Conversely, throughout the 1980s, however, members of the OMF increasingly pushed the bounds of "discreet" evangelism. For instance, a few agents of the OMF widely distributed copies of the OMF's "The Good News Reader," a text used by the OMF since 1928 to teach literacy and introductory Christian concepts, via travel on trains and along highways.[719] An account from 1986 of another Christian tourist affiliated with the OMF provided bible teaching to an audience on a train using bibles written in both English and Chinese. [720] Thus, for the OMF and its allies being "discreet" occasionally gave way to excitement to very public and mobile forms of evangelism that pushed the bounds of the limits placed on the foreign community's involvement in spreading the gospel.

Such accounts could be read as signs of the nation's increasing tolerance and freedom for all Christians, but the mobility of OMF agents engaged in "creative access" missionary work also confused the distinctions between how missions in a "creative access nation" differed at all from the society's approach in China's imperialist past that it had hoped to transcend. It is interesting to note, then, how the OMF's return to working in the PRC sometimes reproduced the pathways of the Protestant missionary's initial penetration of China in the nineteenth century. As scholars such as John King Fairbank have noted, the areas most open to the foreign community in the 1980s, such as the Special Economic Zones in the Guandong Delta and along China's southeast coast, were

[719] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (March/April 1987).
[720] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (May 1986).

mostly the former treaty ports opened following the Opium Wars.[721] Stories circulated by the OMF in the 1980s of former China missionaries cycling the countryside while evangelizing, described a remarkably similar approach to missionary work to those found in the pages of *China's Millions* in the 1940s. One missionary traveling across rural church networks in Central and South China in 1986 described their "conditions" as the same as they were a "hundred years ago."[722] Outside of evangelism, the return of former missionaries as tourists in the 1970s and 1980s saw thousands of requests to seek out former homes, schools, colleagues and fellow Christians, remote cities where they once worked, and the graves of lost loved ones and family members across the nation. These tours gave rise to campaigns to establish monuments, markers, or public acknowledgement of the "positive" role played by foreign missions in the Chinese past. Hoping to return to the PRC primarily to see "Old China" produced movements to make these memories visible again. Coupled with the desire to resume evangelism in some fashion and resist limitations placed upon the mobility of foreigners in the PRC as travelers, the foreign evangelical's push for greater and greater access to Chinese civilization was in many ways an attempt to recover the mobility and by extension the missionary's rights of the imperialist era.

These ideas about friendship, discreet witness, and contributing to the PRC's state building and modernization were the lynchpins of this aspect of the OMF's "creative access" missionary work to the PRC in the 1980s. Unlike the OMF's activities in China watching, evangelism through tourism and expatriatism promoted accommodation with the CCP and even encouraged evangelicals to earn their access through transferring

[721] John King Fairank, *China: A New History,* Second Edition (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992): p. 413.
[722] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July 1986).

technical expertise, investment, or education that would strengthen both the society and the state. Simultaneously, the emphasis on "friendship" helped revive the idea of a "special relationship" that brought goodwill between the PRC and the international community and spoke to the implied consent of Chinese authorities, spiritual and political, to the evangelical's right to evangelize inside the PRC.

The OMF created the sense that these opportunities to evangelize through tourism and exchange were critical to Christianity's future in the PRC in two important ways. First, by working within the opportunities created by China's modernization, evangelicals could reach key demographics in society. Especially as teachers, evangelicals could influence students and youth, groups keenly interested in both the west and Christianity. OMF writers like Chan claimed that current Chinese youth were at an ideological and spiritual "crossroads," that teachers would play a pivotal role in helping them to navigate. Allies of the society like the BGC's China Program similarly promoted the idea that the Cultural Revolution had destroyed China's "superstitions" and "false religions" while the last three decades of "political upheavals, social injustices, and economic disasters" left most of the population "disillusioned by broken promises of the Communist leadership," and "seeking an alternative ideology."[723] To promote Christianity, evangelicals could take advantage of Chinese individual aspirations and desires to improve their nation, especially among youth and intellectuals. Chinese learning English, obtaining western education, or otherwise engaging the west in the forms of tourism and foreign investment would all open avenues for the propagation of the gospel.[724]

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[723] Billy Graham China Program Papers, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois
[724] Carl Armerding Papers, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois

Intellectuals, college students, and various experts and technicians were all groups important to China's political and economic future, and, yet, also groups far removed socially and geographically from the reaches of evangelists and leaders of Chinese house churches. The sending of Christian professionals reflected both the OMF's desire to play a more direct role in evangelism, but also the belief that those Chinese evangelicals from rural and less educated backgrounds could not hope to convert elites. And without the backing of elites, Christianity and its followers were bound to remain a vulnerable minority in society. Despites it support for the house churches, the OMF feared the prevalence of spiritual gifts such as faith healing or prophesy within the house churches and a plethora of followers in rural areas amongst the uneducated and marginalized contributed to the stigmatization of Christianity as "superstition" with the CCP and elites.

Sending Christian professionals from the west, especially those working in the sciences, as a means to rehabilitate the perception of Christianity in the eyes of elites and the state by combatting the idea that Christianity and science were incompatible. Proving the compatibility of Christianity with modernization, and especially with scientific thought, influenced the OMF's publishing agenda as well. As a result, the OMF published literature with the intent to "prove Jesus was a real person," but also to "show Christianity can help nation and people." Further, OMF publishers created literature designed for intellectuals and scientists on themes such as the basics of Christianity, but also apologetic literature proving the compatibility of Christianity and science.[725] Publications distributed to Chinese focused on Christian engineers or computer scientists

[725] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (August 1985).

such as the "Father of the Modern Computer" and highlighted the religious convictions of well-known scientists, intellectuals, and political thinkers.[726]

By utilizing openings within the China's modernization campaigns to approach elites the OMF hoped to solve the problem of Christianity's social mobility. While the OMF praised the "new climate of freedom and respect Christian intellectuals are enjoying" and saw evidence of Christians using their professions to advance the gospel, the society was also acutely aware that the large majority of evangelicals were not of the professional and intellectual classes.[727] If Christianity was indeed a barrier to social mobility in the PRC, then it was imperative that those already within the upper echelons be won to the faith. The great barrier to conversion, the OMF argued, for the non-Christian Chinese elite was that it seemed to entail an abandonment of professional ambitions, rational thought, and the hope to play a role in their nation's development. Secondly, Christians from the west were intended to be visual, object lessons in Christianity's compatibility with both the nation's modernization and the individual's career and social aspirations.

In return for making contributions to the nation's reforms the OMF promoted the idea that the government, society, and the churches implicitly granted foreign evangelicals the right to "discreetly" engage in evangelism. The society referred to entering the PRC through programs to promote China's modernization as the "service entrance," and at other times advertised China's call for foreign experts as an "invitation" for Protestant evangelicals to evangelize the PRC "on China's terms."

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[726] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (September 1988).
[727] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (October 1983).

These ideas about the CCP's implicit acceptance of foreign evangelism were reinforced by the OMF claims that the CCP preferred the foreign Christian to the non-Christian professional. In the *Pray for China* bulletin, OMF representatives from Hong Kong claimed that because of China's modernization the "door is wide open" for overseas Chinese and westerners to enter the PRC to help and even insisted that the government authorities preferred Christians to non-Christians.[728] The advertisement stated, "The disciplined lifestyle of the Christian is fitting the idealism of China today!"[729] Conversely, the Pray for China Fellowship claimed that because of history and politics, the CCP could "never say publically they want Christians," but secretly preferred Christian foreign experts and businessmen. The OMF claimed that the CCP recognized "their lifestyle, reliability, co-operation and willing, humbler service" exhibited a "deeper concern" to make contributions to the country.[730]

In addition to gaining the right to evangelize, the OMF urged evangelicals that through contributing to the nation's development, evangelicals could change the Party's outlook on Christianity. As proof of this, the OMF pointed to the government and society's growing willingness to acknowledge the contributions of Christians as signs of increasing tolerance and acceptance. For instance, in 1985 the OMF noted that in Chengdu over thirty local Christians had been publically commended for their societal contributions to the nation.[731] There were also signs of flexibility in society's perspective on missionaries past and present, too. *Pray for China* reported that a high official had recently told a delegation of foreign guests that Hudson Taylor was a "great man" and

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[728] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (May/June/July 1985).
[729] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (March/April 1987).
[730] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (March 1984).
[731] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (September 1985).

that he hoped all Christians would express love for the nation. The OMF's optimism was not so over-confident as to mistakenly think that the battle over public perception was nearing victory; the same issue noted that Taylor had been condemned as an imperialist in a series of lectures at Nanjing Theological Seminary.[732]

This dimension of the OMF's work in the PRC the society contributed to the sense that governmental attitudes toward Christians, while at many times still hostile to Christianity, were becoming more tolerant, and evangelicals hoped to demonstrate that Christianity was not "a threat" to the CCP but the "real answer to China's needs."[733] Evangelical hopes in this respect were boosted by the OMF's reports that even "many other Party members are disillusioned and see communist ideals as unobtainable."[734]The OMF circulated reports that within the CCP "some local cadres and even high-up officials are secret believers," and one issue of the Pray for China Fellowship boasted, "even party members listen to the radio" but did so "secretly" with ear plugs.[735]

There was also a notion created by the OMF's missionary work through exchange programs that with modernization's success would come more liberal policies toward religious freedom and also more "openness" to the international community. During this period, the OMF linked events related to internal party dynamics within the CCP and the prospect of political liberalization to the status of Christianity in society and its rights. Throughout the 1980s many requests asked OMF supporters to "pray unceasingly for all leaders." Pray for China Fellowship brochures asked that on Fridays evangelicals pray for

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732 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (December 1985).
733 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (December 1983).
734 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (December 1983); Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (January 1984).
735 Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (December 1983); Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (January 1984).

government authorities, more specifically Hu Yaobang, Zhao Ziyang, and Deng Xiaoping as they tackled the "tremendous task" of a "billion people's needs."[736] Indeed, the OMF invested much in the success of China's reforms as led by the CCP with such prayer requests as "wise implementations of Four Modernizations."[737] The OMF found and built confidence in Christianity's revival on the basis of proclamations from leaders such as Zhao's statement that "China has opened its door and will never close it again."

While also highlighting hundreds of cases of abuse against Christians, the OMF in the early 1980s praised the government "for the new freedom" experienced by Chinese Christians since the Cultural Revolution.[738] Other leading evangelical institutions were as optimistic about the prospects for reform and Christianity as the OMF. In 1981, the BGC's China Program at Wheaton College proclaimed "The China Challenge" presented evangelical Christianity with an incredible opportunity to bring the gospel to 1 billion people. In confronting the challenge, like the OMF, the China Program of the BGC was cautiously optimistic because "there has been a slow but positive transformation in her attitude towards human rights and religion."[739]

However, the realization that China's "openness" depended on "liberals" within the CCP sparked constant efforts at prayerful intercession by the OMF toward the support of leaders and reformers identified at the forefront of change. For much of the 1980s Deng Xiaoping was an especially popular target for prayer requests. Prayer reminders spoke of the leader as having "fought many battles" over his career to rise to the top of the party and carry out the current reform agenda. The OMF asked evangelicals to pray

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[736] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (October 1986)
[737] Overseas Missionary Fellowship, *Prayer Directory*, (March 1985).
[738] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (August 1981)
[739] Carl Armerding Papers, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois

that he continue this fight but also not "lose" the battle for his soul. In believing Deng to be the architect behind China's open reforms, the society also prayed to protect his liberal agenda and position in the party.

Various reports of crackdowns on Chinese Christians alarmed the OMF and prompted fears of a return to the Maoist years, and at times reignited the more militant and defiant rhetoric of the society to the CCP and TSPM. For instance, after a wave of arrests of Chinese Christians in 1983 and 1984 in cities like Beijing, Canton, Qingdao, and Xi'an, the OMF reminded prayer supporters "this is serious spiritual warfare. Let us allow the Holy Spirit to fire our prayers."[740] But they also inspired the OMF to rally evangelicals to the defense of "liberals" within both the CCP and TSPM. For example, in February 1987 the Pray for China Fellowship warned that Peng Zhen, Chairman of the National Party Congress, was leading a "veiled attack" on Deng and the reforms and elements with the party threatened a "return to the orthodoxy of communist principles and thoughts."[741]

An internal struggle within the TSPM going on simultaneously between "liberals" and their opponents was followed closely by the OMF as well. The Pray For China Fellowship reported that elements within the TSPM had recently submitted a number of "radical" proposals to "further liberalize religious policy" and had contested official rhetoric that religion was an "opiate and unscientific." However, "leftists" within the TSPM had stymied these reforms in a fashion similar to the "old guard" of the CCP, and instead continued efforts to restrict the inflow of foreign materials sent to the churches and to limit contacts between Christians inside and outside China that were not routed

[740]Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (February 1984).
[741] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (February 1987).

through official channels. And reports from across the OMF's contacts in 1987 signaled that conditions were worsening for Christians. The OMF again urged supporters that the situation demanded "fervent" intercession to prevent "leftist" forces from gaining the upper hand, which could lead to a "disaster" for the churches.

By the late 1980s, however, the OMF's China Program had begun redirecting hopes for continued reform toward Hu Yaobang. The OMF was enthusiastic about Hu's apparent rise as Deng's potential successor in 1986 after a meeting with various church leaders. During the meeting, Hu had allegedly stated his support for greater religious freedom, including the opportunity to freely and publically propagate Christianity. As a result, the OMF tied Hu's rise in the mid-1980s to the possibility of an increasingly liberal attitude toward religion within the party. The OMF also invested hopes in the party's "youth" or "younger generation" as the vanguard of reform. Members like Xu Qili were singled out by the OMF as agents of "greater ideological change" and the Pray for China Fellowship concentrated their prayers on the rise of the party's "next generation" to replace the "old guard."[742] Praying for change, either in the conversion of party members to Christianity, or in their conversion to a liberal attitude toward religion, defined the Pray for China Fellowship.

Hu's resignation in 1987 then prompted a sense of crisis among the international evangelical community. The OMF China Program reported that student demonstrations in favor of democracy and greater freedoms in nineteen cities throughout 1986 along with Hu's rising popularity had made it "evident that there was strong support for complete Westernization of China." But fears among the "last of the old guard" about the party's

[742]Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July/August 1986).

prestige and authority had forced Deng to initiate a "crackdown" on Hu, leading to his resignation, and campaigns against "bourgeois liberalism." That intellectuals such as Fang Lizhi, Wang Ruowang, and Liu Banyan had been purged from the party's ranks and that various news outlets were subject to tightening controls incited the OMF to fear the advent of another Hundred Flowers. Reports later that year also warned that the greater attention and praise for the People's Liberation Army as the "bastion of old ideology" portended a rising threat to the nation's liberal elements.

The late 1980s then were a "crucial time" wherein the OMF mobilized evangelicals to participate in China's reforms and modernization through prayer, exchange, and tourism to propel the nation "going forward" by aiding "liberals" within the country against conservative forces. By early 1989 the OMF was increasingly uncertain about the fate of Christianity, or reform for that matter. In November of 1988, citing inflation, rampant corruption in the CCP, and signs of dissent among youth and intellectuals, the OMF claimed the nation was "headed for crisis." A feature in the Pray for China Fellowship announced that after the "Deng Decade" from 1978 to 1989, progress in the economic, political, and religious realms had been achieved, but the question of "where to now" was left hanging in the balance. Optimism rebounded in the spring, however, as liberal elements across the nation seemed to surge ahead with the support of the international community. The tide had seemed to turn inside the TSPM, too. An interview by the New Network International in Los Angeles with Bishop Ding saw the TSPM leader declare the need for a more liberal religious policy and plans for the dissolution of the TSPM by as early as 1991. The OMF pointed to increasing international pressure from groups in Hong Kong and the U.S. on the TSPM and CCP,

including petitions from prominent evangelicals in the U.S. sent to Zhao Ziyang for the release of Xu Yongze. The society speculated that international attention helped pave the way for liberal elements to gain leverage inside the country.

The sense of a liberal victory, and by extension a triumph for Christianity, rapidly collapsed then in the months following the events of June 4th 1989. Materials for the July/August 1989 Pray for China Fellowship held out that the situation inside China was "changing hour by hour" and urged prayer for leaders and military officials with "justice" and "righteousness" to gain control of the country. Outside the PRC, the OMF encouraged special outreach programs and support for Chinese citizens in their hour of grief. But by the winter of 1990, reports from society members touring inside China described cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Suzhou as under strict control by military and party officials. New identification cards required for Chinese citizens limited their mobility across the country, and at various new checkpoints were pictures of fugitive dissidents and repeated baggage inspections. Regulations concerning foreign travel were as stringent as they had been in the 1970s. While not expelled or completely isolated as it had been in the 1950s, the OMF's ambitions crumbled as the currents of liberalism coursing throughout the country, symbolized by students, intellectuals, and the hopes placed in the rise of "liberal" elements within the CCP and TSPM were immobilized.[743]

Conclusion

The hopes of accommodation with the CCP and TSPM leading to greater access and freedom for Christians, foreign and domestic, collapsed in the summer of 1989. Instead, the OMF's concern over the fate of Hong Kong in 1997 rose as the society

[743] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (April 1989); Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (July/August 1989); Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin,* (January/February 1990).

feared the loss of Christianity's rallying point and gateway for missions to the PRC. Conversely, in the 1990s the currents of political, economic, and cultural exchange between the PRC and countries like the U.S. remained open and societies like the OMF continued to utilize them as the means to evangelize, train disciples, and advocate for the greater religious liberty of Chinese evangelicals. Any sort of promise, however, that through these programs evangelicals could hope to convert the CCP, either to Christianity or liberalism, seemed hollow after the events of June 4th. Thus, for the second time in the twentieth century, the CCP dealt a critical blow to the evangelical's concept of divine sovereignty in world affairs by ruining the notion that with China's opening up, the return of the foreign missionary, and the explosion of underground Christianity a golden age of Christianity in China had finally arrived.

The end result of the OMF's China Program was to create a very complicated and ambivalent perspective on the nature of Christian missions and Chinese spiritual sovereignty. At a political level, the society was willing to acknowledge the legitimacy of both the CCP and the TSPM to limit the scope of Protestant missions and even encouraged evangelicals to make contributions to the nation's development. But it also framed this as an implicit "invitation" to engage in evangelism and other forms of ministry.

Institutionally, the OMF's ideas of discipleship training and desire to inspire Chinese to a missionary vision continued to be grounded in racial stereotypes that undermined Chinese equality and spiritual sovereignty. Further, class based fears about the lack of education and social background of the house churches reinforced these doubts about the sustainability of Christianity without foreign aid and influence. Overall,

these concerns reloaded the western evangelical's tours of the PRC as travelers and expatriates with ideas about maintaining doctrinal integrity, expanding rights and religious freedom, and augmenting Chinese spiritual sovereignty. While doing so, the OMF moved much closer to the ideal of equality, and yet still relied on racialized tropes about the Chinese as the means to justify the evangelical's movement across borders.

In pointing to the experiences of the house churches, the OMF vindicated its legacy in China, seeing many of its traditional principles for missions and evangelism proven by the vitality of Chinese Christianity. The OMF in its search to recover its lost churches and contacts with Chinese evangelicals made constant allusions to its own ideological legacy as preserved by house evangelists taking up itinerations across borders and seeking out remote minority groups. Despite innovations in missionary work utilizing greater technology, Chinese Christianity's revival proved the primacy of direct, people to people proselytization as the most effective means for promoting the faith. Yet as the OMF, in a contradictory fashion, sought to supply Chinese evangelicals with the "surfeit" of things such as literature it had argued Chinese Christianity had proven was unnecessary.

Simultaneously, there was a far greater sense of reciprocity and equality evident in these decades within the mission's call to work in the PRC. Further, in this era Chinese evangelicals not only were theoretically sovereign in leading evangelism but also politically, economically, and socially in control of the churches and their expansion. For political and spiritual reasons, the OMF praised the Chinese evangelical, foreign and domestic, as the most dynamic and progressive vessel of the evangelical faith in the PRC.

Most importantly, white evangelicals were now propelled to China not just to save Chinese but also to learn from Chinese evangelicals.

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Concluding Chapter

The Trajectory of Protestant Missions and Mobility Post-1989

Despite the evaporation of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship's (OMF) hopes for China's continued "Opening Up" and modernization in 1989 the society carried on missionary work to the PRC as a "creative access nation" in the 1990s and 2000s. For Protestant evangelicals, in some sense June 4th,1989, was just another momentary setback, in line with the Boxer Rebellion or the Northern Expedition, to the missionary endeavor and Christianity's steady global expansion. It certainly had nowhere near the impact that the spiritual crisis induced by the Chinese revolution and subsequent expulsion of missionaries during the Korean War had on missions and the international evangelical community. That the flows of exchange—cultural, economic, and political—soon were moving back and forth between the PRC with missionaries again "discreetly" evangelizing and working with Chinese Christians recovered for evangelicals the sense that Christianity was on the "right side" of history.

Perhaps the most important impact of the Tiananmen Square Massacre on the OMF's ministry was the heightened attention given to Hong Kong's handover to Chinese authorities. Throughout the 1980s, the OMF invested in Hong Kong and its Christian communities as the entryway to evangelizing the PRC. Chinese Christians in Hong Kong were able to travel inside the PRC with fewer restrictions than non-Chinese evangelicals and flowed to the mainland in large numbers during holidays such as Chinese New Year to visit relatives, forming a vital bridge between the house churches and the international community.

However, as authorities from Beijing and London negotiated the handover of Hong Kong, the OMF raised the alarm over how Beijing's sovereignty could bring the restrictions placed on Christianity in the mainland to Hong Kong's Christian populations and threaten the city's status as the hub for evangelism from the world outside the PRC. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the OMF kept evangelicals abreast of the negotiations and tried to mobilize prayers to protect the rights and freedom of Hong Kong's Christian community. In the late 1980s the OMF warned that suffrage rights were no longer included in the Sino-British Joint Declaration. [744] Following the events in June 1989, Hong Kong erupted in demonstrations of solidarity with the student movement in Beijing, and the OMF once again briefly employed the idea of "spiritual warfare" with the CCP as a means to protect not only mainland evangelicals but the "freedom" of groups in Hong Kong as well. However, in terms of the "New Fields," following normalization with China the missionary's value as a pioneer spreading containment and fostering integration with Japan, Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Taiwan, Laos, and later new countries such as Mongolia and Cambodia evaporated in the 1980s and 1990s.

Studying the history of missions like the OMF after the exodus from China reveals the dramatic changes in the political notions expressed by missionary mobility and its complicated relationship to American foreign policy. Prior to 1943 as pioneers, CIM missionaries built a sense of spiritual conquest of the Chinese and the expansion of an international order of Christianity defined by whiteness and shared western values. After 1943, the mobility of missionaries was increasingly re-imagined as support for the

[744] Pray for China Fellowship, *Pray for China Monthly Bulletin, (*March 1989).

spiritual self-determination of groups in Asia and revised to reflect respect and equality with non-whites. Simultaneously, the emphasis on the activities of discipleship training reflected fears about the exercise of spiritual sovereignty by Chinese and how this might affect both Christianity and the rights of foreign missionaries.

Following the mission exodus during the early Cold War, missionary mobility mapped the contours of spiritual warfare with the communism and spread of containment and integration to populations across East and Southeast Asia. Initially entering as pioneers, instead of spiritual conquest, the missionary's mobility signified the pacification of populations such as overseas Chinese and the preservation of western influence within the context of decolonization. Abandoning pioneer evangelism once again amidst fears of the missionary's irrelevance to Asian elites guiding the region's future, missionary mobility once again symbolized spiritual aid given to help fulfill the spiritual self-determination of Asian Christianity. By engaging in discipleship training and other forms of missionary work designed to "strengthen the churches," the OMF continued to argue that missionaries enhanced the spiritual self-determination of Asians.

Equally interesting, however, is how Sino-American normalization produced a missionary mobility that embodied both opposition, through the use of travel to advocate for the rights of Chinese evangelicals and foreigners in the PRC, and accommodation, contributing to reform and modernization as well as abandoning the moniker of missionary, to the Chinese Communist Party. Further, that "friendship" became essential to the OMF's endeavors and western trade, professional exchange, and investment in the PRC were seen as vital aspects of Christian missions suggests how notions of a "special relationship" between Chinese and Americans were revived in the 1980s. Following up

on the work of scholars such as Michael Hunt, Christopher Endy, Christina Klein, and Sarah Ruble, how many ideas about foreign relations were worked out by the movement of non-state cultural figures such as missionaries, and took on new meanings according to the vicissitudes of the Cold War.

Studying the OMF's time in China and later redeployment also illuminates the struggle to distance the missionary movement from imperialism within the context of decolonization. Especially as Christianity in Asian nations grew, the OMF fought against the idea that sending white missionaries to Asia was a violation of the rights of Asians. Instead, the society advocated that any race or nationality could engage in evangelism as a human right held by all members of the international Christian community. In this respect, the missionary's mobility defined freedom of movement and freedom of expression in evangelism as the expression of religious freedom. And while the OMF recognized the political sovereignty of nations like the PRC to bar evangelicals from entering as missionaries, the OMF adapted the methods of its work to advocate for the rights of all evangelicals to engage in "widespread and unhindered propagation."

In Hong Kong, the PRC, and the New Fields the OMF and its supporters understood the missionary's mobility as a critical component of religious freedom, and central to human rights such as freedom of movement and freedom of expression. In addition, by focusing the missionary work's toward advocacy of the rights of groups such as the Chinese evangelical in mainland China and later Hong Kong, the OMF conveyed the impression that the sending of missionaries promoted the spiritual self-determination of evangelicals in Asia by bringing international attention to and focusing prayerful intercession on the expansion of their freedom of movement and expression. By the late

twentieth century, notions about mobility and religious rights once created by exclusionary immigration practices targeting Chinese in the U.S. and the mobility enjoyed by Protestant missionaries given extraterroriality rights in China that were associated with "whiteness" were understood as religious freedoms held by all evangelicals regardless of race or nation.

These notions of rights were reflected in the changing directional aspect of Protestant missions. Over the course of several decades the China Inland Mission evolved from a society sending missionaries solely to China and the Chinese into the Overseas Missionary Fellowship, an organization with a calling to bring the gospel to Asians everywhere around the globe. Training materials in the early 1970s advised junior missionaries to forge a spiritual identification with Asians by "*being where people are*. One cannot identify at a distance….endeavor to be where Asians are—in their homes, in schools, at work, in the market, or in stores."[745] While this material was intended for missionaries heading to fields in Asia, this statement was equally true of the OMF agenda in countries like the U.S. Being where Asians were in the U.S., (both citizens and foreign guests), governed the traffic of OMF representatives and supporters to propagate the missionary vision to universities, churches, and cities with large Asian populations. This decentering of missionary work from China and eventually from Asia, and the alteration of the directional flow of missionaries was a byproduct of the Chinese Revolution, the Cold War, decolonization, and Asian nationalism as well as the increasing recognition of the spiritual self-determination of Asian evangelicals.

[745] S.P.O.T. Orientation Summer 1972, Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

Racial integration saved for evangelicals a sense that the missionary's mobility was a dynamic source of spiritual progress in the world. Rerouted and expelled by political revolutions and implicated as the source of racial discrimination and imperialism in the 1950s and 1960s, the society and its supporters struggled with doubts in the missionary's dynamism and association with progress. Compelled to recognize the sovereignty of the national and local Asian churches and their rights within their borders, the OMF reacted by abandoning its western identity in the 1960s and pursuing integration with Asians as equals in the international community. OMF publications and training materials later touted, "We are not an American society, but rather we are an international family of brothers and sisters in Christ. We have much to learn from one another," and advertised that the society included Chinese, Indians, Filipinos, Swiss, Dutch, German, and even a Maori member from New Zealand.[746] Racial integration recovered for missions like the OMF its sense of being on the right sight of history by alleviating concerns that the missionary's movement across borders was a violation of the self-determination of Asians and that Christianity was not a universal faith but the religion of white imperialists.

Certainly, the notions of racial superiority that once created a racial dichotomy between the meanings of Chinese mobility and that of the white, missionary from countries like the U.S. faded over the course of the Cold War. For one, immigration reform in the U.S., the opening of pathways to full citizenship for groups like Chinese Americans, and American society's enduring Civil Rights struggle after 1945 forced the mission to reconsider its own exclusion of nonwhites from membership. In the field, the

[746] S.P.O.T. Orientation Summer 1972, Records of the United States Home Council of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship (China Inland Mission), Collection 215, Billy Graham Evangelical Center, Wheaton, Illinois.

missionary's struggles with the challenges posed by nationalism, communism, and other aspects transforming societies in Asia such as mass literacy and urbanization led members of the CIM-OMF to increasingly recognize Asians as their equals. More importantly, the sovereignty of regimes like the CCP and their ability to regulate or restrict the movements of foreign missionaries helped eradicate the sense that whites enjoyed mobility fundamentally different from that of nonwhites defined by its freedom and rights.

In fact, from the 1950s onward the society's members increasingly worried that the white western missionary's signification of imperialism, exploitation, and racial discrimination in the field stymied its ambitions. In contrast, the growing inclusion of Asian evangelicals within the missionary movement and voices from within the CIM such as Chen Chonggui in the 1940s or Arnold Lea in the 1960s suggested that the future of Protestant missions belonged to Asian evangelicals. If the missionary symbolized the extension of American power, as scholar Sarah Ruble suggests, then the history of the CIM-OMF illustrates that the face of this power was increasingly imagined as non-white after the 1950s. Overall, the hopes of the mission and its supporters in countries like the U.S. were increasingly dependent on the incorporation of Asian allies, at home and abroad, into their fold and gradually entrusted more and more authority to Asian missionaries. Against the backdrop of the Cold War and decolonization, the importance of propagating to Asian evangelicals the missionary impulse and its attendant mobility loaded with many different ideological meanings for the OMF's supporters began to outweigh concerns for the souls of "unevangelized" Asians.

But the reality was that the organization's western and white identity could not simply be shed overnight as evangelicals in North American and the United Kingdom continued to dominate the society's interests, finances, and rank and file. Nor was the OMF suddenly swelled by Asian members and supporters; integration took decades to achieve and the mission's first Asia General Director, Patrick Fung, was only named in 2005. Although the OMF strove for more equal relations with Asians and an ideal of internationalism more inclusive of Asians, the size of Asian membership for much of the twentieth century belied the mission's claims to being non-western.

In some ways there is any irony in the fact that in the 1930s the society employed thousands of Chinese Christian workers, evangelists, and colporteurs before the mission eliminated these positions and forced them upon local Chinese churches in light of the principle of self-support. While these employees were not officially missionaries of the OMF, their participation invites the question of whether or not the OMF moved closer or further away from integration with Asians in the second half of the twentieth century. Relations between white and Asian evangelicals certainly became more equitable within the Protestant missionary movement in many respects, but each group also tended to segregate into its own respective organizations. Indeed, OMF relied heavily on cooperation with organizations such as Chinese for Christ and churches run by Asian evangelicals to fulfill its ambitions in Asia.

A byproduct of these developments was geographic and class-based hierarchies produced by missionary mobility. Groups such as the Lisu in northern Thailand and Southwest China continued to be represented as "heathens" to be pitied and saved, while urban Japanese and Chinese-Americans from California were elevated to the status of

equals and incorporated into the fold of the OMF. In turn, fears that groups such as Chinese Christians in the People's Republic of China would perpetuate the stigmatization of Christianity as "superstition" drove the OMF in search of candidates from the U.S. with higher professional and educational backgrounds than it had traditionally recruited.

While the mobility of missionaries working with the OMF and its allies no longer marked nations or civilizations as inherently "superior" or "inferior" the directional flow of missionaries reified racial boundaries between Asian and white evangelicals. While the OMF now employed both Asians and white evangelicals as missionaries on an equal basis and the lines between "sending" and "receiving" nations were blurred, missionaries were still routed toward Asians, wherever they were located, but not toward whites in any country. Thus, the trajectory of the missionary's mobility, whether Asian or white, was set by notions of race and the idea of the Asian's greater need for the saving grace of the gospels.

Fears of declension or heterodoxy remained central to the motivations constructed by the OMF for white evangelicals to go forth as missionaries to Asia or to their Asian neighbors. Doubts about the existence of a global missionary vision or suspicions of a wane in zeal for evangelism amidst rising affluence were associated with Asian groups in western countries like the U.S. or Chinese in Hong Kong. Similarly, fears about the absence of western theology and scriptural interpretations spurred the OMF to send agents to train groups in Asia, as did its concerns that Christianity's association with impoverished or marginalized groups in countries like the PRC would continue to arouse the suspicions of elites and mobile, modern citizens.

And while the society often emphasized the rights and sovereignty of Asian evangelicals, by constantly justifying their inclusion by reference to the greater efficacy of Asian missionaries because of their cultural and racial backgrounds and allusions to the political necessity of embracing racial integration to free the missionary movement from charges of discrimination and imperialism the CIM-OMF directly undercut the idea of equality. In essence, racial equality was pursued less out of belief in its merits and more so because it enhanced evangelism and Christianity's appeal. It was a practical necessity more than an ideal.

Certainly, scholars such as Lian Xi or Rebecca Nedostup concerned with the development of indigenous Chinese Christianity should consider how missions like the OMF interpreted the movement of Chinese as evangelists and missionaries as evidence of the universality of Christianity and expressions of solidarity and fellowship with the missionary movement. In periods such as the 1940s the CIM's representation of Chinese evangelicals as pioneers spoke to their spiritual sovereignty and racial equality even if the missionary's own mobility undermined such notions. Even more importantly, Chinese Christianity's revival in the 1970s and 1980s validated the OMF's belief in the missionary exodus as a "strategic retreat" leading to Christianity's greater advance in Asia. For many evangelicals in the U.S. belief in ideas such as divine sovereignty or the universality of the Christian faith depended upon their perception of the ebbs and flows of the Chinese evangelicals in the PRC. The "domestic" life of Chinese Christianity has always had powerful spiritual and political reverberations on the "international" community beyond China's borders.

Particularly, the OMF's work in this period points to the ways in which Protestant missions tried to harness the power of transnational flows of Chinese to advance the Gospel and were concerned about its capacity to spread rival ideologies. Working outside the People's Republic of China for over two decades, the OMF invested its hopes and that of its followers in the cultivation and training of a generation of overseas Chinese, especially Chinese Americans, would lead the return of the Protestant missionary. With the opening of the PRC to tourism, Chinese Christians from Hong Kong traveling to family in mainland and scholars, students, and professionals from the PRC visiting countries like the U.S. became critical to the society's commission. While such flows of Chinese were seen as conduits of progress and uplift by the OMF, the mission's own time spent pacifying overseas Chinese in nations like Malaysia in the early Cold War and constant fear of the Sinicization of Christianity suggests how Chinese mobility could still be seen as subversive and threatening.

By following the same trajectory explored in the scholarship of historians such as Akira Iriye, Ian Tyrell, and Mary Dudziak, this study has demonstrated that notions of rights, race, and religion held by groups in the U.S. were produced transnationally by the movement of groups such as the missionary and overseas Chinese. The institutional spread of the OMF in the U.S. and its expansion and movement in Asia, however, displays the dissemination of an ideology produced by mobility through transnational networks connecting Christians across the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans. Ultimately, what my research has shown is that what bound together these Christians in support of the OMF was an ideological belief that missionary mobility expressed fundamental

religious rights such as freedom of movement and expression, but did so by perpetuating racist notions about Chinese and other Asians.

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